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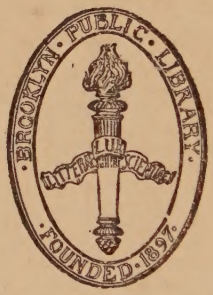

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THE LETTERS OF ST. TERESA

NIHIL OBSTAT
DOM JUSTINUS MCCANN, O.S.B. CENSOR DEPUTATUS
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18 AUGUSTI 1922

THE LETTERS OF SAINT TERESA

A COMPLETE EDITION
TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH
AND ANNOTATED
BY THE BENEDICTINES OF STANBROOK

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
CARDINAL GASQUET

VOLUME III

BENZIGER BROTHERS
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CCI

Prefatory note

The position of St. John of the Cross was somewhat anomalous. Unfortunately we have no account of the transaction from his own pen and therefore rely more or less on fragmentary notices. When St. Teresa became Prioress of the Incarnation, (October 15, 1571) she obtained from the Visitor, Pedro Hernandez, the appointment of St. John as confessor to that convent, with Fray German de San Matias as his companion. Although the powers of the Visitors were withdrawn, the Visitors themselves were renominated by Ormaneto under the title of Reformers, and the appointment of St. John appears to have remained unquestioned, being at least tacitly confirmed by the Nuncio and the provincial, Angel de Salazar. Therefore, on the publication of the acts of the general chapter of Piacenza, St. John, a Discalced Carmelite, found himself away from any of the priories of the Reformed, in a position which normally belonged to the Calced. The provincial Chapter of Moraleja, (May 1576) which elected Gutierrez provincial and tried to enforce the decisions of Piacenza, seems to have taken cognizance of the state of things, but it was not until the end of that year or the beginning of the next that the Prior of Avila, Alonzo Valdemoro, had the two fathers removed from the Incarnation and conveyed to the

Calced Carmel at Medina. This caused great scandal and Ormaneto ordered that they should be restored to the Incarnation, at the same time forbidding the Calced to interfere with the spiritual administration of the convent. On the death of the Nuncio, (June 17), the position changed. The powers of Visitors and Reformers had lapsed; the Nuncio was dead; the former provincial had never given any written permission, (probably because it was not thought necessary) and the present provincial was opposed to the chaplaincy of St. John and Fray German. St. John and his companion were ordered by Tostado to leave their post and return to one of their own priories, as though they were intruders. They refused to do so, as they had been nominated by the highest authority and had received no proper notice of the termination of their office, nor does any one seem to have been chosen to fill their place. This refusal, perfectly justifiable on all grounds, was construed as rebellion against the decrees of the general chapter and the two friars were apprehended on the night of Dec. 3, 1577, and hurried away to Calced priories, St. John to Toledo and Fray German to Moraleja. There, apparently without being heard in their own defence, they were not only treated as contumacious rebels, but with a refinement of cruelty for which probably neither the Vicar General Tostado, nor the provincial Gutierrez, but the prior, Hernando Maldonado, alone was responsible. Fray German escaped soon afterwards but St. John was imprisoned for nine months in a tiny cell with neither light nor air except from a hole in the roof. He was fed scantily with salt fish, given little to drink, and disciplined so frequently and severely in the refectory after supper that the scars were seen on his shoulders after his death. Meanwhile the Mitigated acted as chaplains and confessors to the community of the Incarnation. (*Found.* chap. xxviii, note 3.)

Avila, December 4, 1577[1]

TO PHILIP II

Complaint of the seizure of St. John of the Cross and Fray German at the Incarnation. Maldonado, Prior of Avila, and the nuns of the Incarnation. He imprisons Fray Antonio.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit ever be with your Majesty.

AS I am convinced that our Lady has chosen your Majesty to defend her Order as its protector, I feel bound to appeal to you about its affairs. For love of our Lord I beseech you, Sire, to forgive such audacity.

Doubtless your Majesty is aware that the nuns of the Incarnation wished me to come to them, thinking that I might be able to deliver them from the Calced friars, who certainly offer a serious obstacle to the recollection and observance the community desire—the lack of which was entirely owing to the Mitigated fathers. The sisters are mistaken in thinking that I could help them, for while the Calced hear their confessions and make their visitations, my presence there could do no permanent good, as I always say to the Dominican Visitor, who knows it is true.

Meanwhile, until God rectifies matters, I tried to improve the nuns' case by settling in a cottage

[1] Fuente 174, Vol. I. Letter iv, first edition of the Letters published in Spanish.

close by a Discalced friar, (who serves God so fervently as to edify the sisters), with another friar as his companion. All Avila is so astonished at the improvement wrought by him that they consider him a saint, as in my opinion he is, and has been all his life.

The late Nuncio, hearing of this and of the harm done by those of the cloth, had the matter thoroughly investigated by the citizens. He ordered under pain of excommunication, that the Discalced friars should be sent back to the Incarnation from which the Calced had removed them by force, treating them insultingly to the scandal of the city.[2] He also decreed, under penalty of excommunication, that no friar of the cloth should go to the convent on business, to say Mass, or to hear confessions, which the Discalced and secular priests alone were entitled to do.

After this, all went well with the house until the Nuncio's death, when, without having shown by what authority, the Mitigated returned, and with them, the former disturbances. A friar[3] who came to absolve the nuns, has treated them so badly, with such injustice and lawlessness, that they are in deep distress and are not freed from their penalties, I have been told.

Worst of all, he has deprived them of the two confessors. People say he has been made Vicar Provincial, which must be true as he has more

[2] See letter to Rubeo, February 1576. Vol 1.

[3] At the end of November, Philip intimated to Sega that Tostado must take steps to absolve the nuns of the Incarnation from all censures. Maldonado did this in such a way that their state was worse than ever.

power than the others to make martyrs. He keeps the two fathers imprisoned in his priory, having forced open their cells and seized their papers.

The neighbours are scandalized and astonished at his daring, for he is not a superior and shows no authority for his actions; the confessors are subjects of the Apostolic Commmissary and your Majesty is very near the place. These Calced friars seem to fear neither justice nor God. As they have long desired, our confessors have fallen into their hands—I am deeply grieved, for I would rather have seen our fathers in the power of the Moors who might be more merciful. This friar, who serves God very fervently, is so weak from all he has suffered that I fear for his life.

For love of our Lord, I implore your Majesty to command that the confessors should be set free at once and that the sufferings inflicted on the poor Discalced by those of the cloth should be stopped. The Discalced do nothing but endure in silence, gaining great merit, but scandal is given, as the same kind of thing takes place in other towns. At Toledo, this spring, Fray Antonio, a holy old man, who was the first to embrace the Reform, was seized and imprisoned for no reason.[4] The Mitigated say the Discalced must be abolished, by order of Tostado. God have mercy on us! Those

[4] Fray Antonio de Jesus (Heredia), on returning from escorting St. Teresa from Toledo to Avila, had been seized and imprisoned by Maldonado as an apostate friar because he would not renounce the Reform and return to the Mitigation. Mariano was in safety with influential friends at Madrid, where he remained during the troubles, helping the Discalced with such secrecy that neither the Nuncio nor the Calced ever suspected him.

who ought to prevent offences against Him commit such sins, growing worse every day!

Unless your Majesty commands that matters should be remedied, I do not know what will happen for we have no other earthly aid. May our Lord spare you to us for many years. I trust that He will shew us this mercy since so few but you care for His honour. I and all the nuns pray continually for your Majesty.

Written at St. Joseph's, Avila, December 4, 1577.

Your Majesty's unworthy servant and subject,
Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite.

CCII

Avila, December 7, 1577[1]

TO FATHER GASPAR DE SALAZAR

Persecution of the Discalced. St. Teresa's election as Prioress of the Incarnation. The 'Life' and the 'Interior Castle'.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with you, my Father.

A LETTER was brought to me from your Reverence to-day, the Eve of the Conception. May our Lord reward you for the comfort it gave me which I really needed as you must know that, for more than three months, hosts of devils seem

[1] Fuente 175. The name of the addressee is wanting, but no doubt the letter was written to Father Gaspar de Salazar, S.J., Granada. The direction is: 'To the Very Magnificent and Most Reverend Señor and Father of mine, in Granada.'

to have leagued together against the Discalced friars and nuns. The persecutions and accusations raised against us nuns and Father Gracian have been so numerous and hard to bear that we could only seek refuge in God. I believe He heard their prayers (for in fact they are good souls) as those who presented the memorials to the King have withdrawn the scandalous tales they told about us. Truth is a great thing, for even before that, the sisters rejoiced. It was not much that I should be glad, for such things are so customary now that it costs me little to remain indifferent.

And now, as a climax, the nuns of the Incarnation have elected me as Prioress with a majority of fourteen or fifteen votes. But the Calced friars have been clever enough to place and confirm in the office the nun with fewer votes. It would have been a great blessing for me, had it been settled peacefully, but as the nuns of the opposition, over fifty in number, refused obedience to her except as Vice-Prioress, he excommunicated them. Theologians say that the excommunication was invalid; but these religious were prevented from hearing Mass or seeing their confessors for two months, being greatly harassed meanwhile, as they are still though the Nuncio has ordered that they should be absolved. What a life to witness all this ! The case is being tried before the Royal Council, but though this is a great trouble to me, it will be a far greater one if they take me back there. Pray about it for charity's sake, for until we are a separate province I believe we shall never be free from disturbances.

This the devil is doing all in his power to prevent. Oh! How I should like to talk to you and tell you many things, for past and present events form a history, and I do not know how it will end. When anything fresh occurs, I will send you a full account, as you tell me letters travel safely. It would have helped me to know that you had such a friend in Madrid; perhaps even now it may be useful.

I wrote a long letter to your Reverence from Toledo; you do not say whether you received it. It would be just my luck if you were to go there now I have come here. To see you would have afforded some relief to my soul.[2] Peralta was very

[2] 'Peralta' is evidently the Saint herself and 'Carillo' the addressee of this letter. The 'jewel' is the *Life* which had been brought before the Inquisition at Toledo and had there come into the hands of Cardinal Quiroga, the Grand Inquisitor, nominated as Archbishop of Toledo, who was delighted with both the book and the writer. The second 'jewel' was *The Interior Castle* which St. Teresa had finished writing on November 24—a week before. The 'Jeweller's design' no doubt alludes to the plan of the book revealed to her by our Lord in her vision of the soul as a crystal. (*Interior Castle* Intr. p. 17, 3rd edition.) The goldsmith is the Saint herself.

Father Gracian wrote as a note to chapter vi, book iv. of P. Ribera's *Vida de Santa Teresa*: 'What passed between us about the Book of the Mansions was this: while she was at Toledo and I was her superior, we were discussing several matters relating to her soul, when she exclaimed: "Oh, how well I explained this in my *Life*, which is at the Inquisition!" I answered: "As we cannot get it back, note what you remember of this and other subjects and write another book. Let it be impersonal, so that people cannot tell to whom it refers." (Note, *Ano Teresiano*, vol. vii.) She replied: 'Why do they want me to write? Leave it to theologians and learned men. I am silly and do not know what to say; I shall use the wrong terms and injure souls. Many books have been written about prayer. For the love of God, let me spin my flax, go to choir, and do the work of the house like the rest of the sisters, for I am not fit to write. I have neither the health nor the head for it.' *(Dilucidario)*. Father Gracian insisted, and in order to persuade her, told the Saint to consult Doctor Velasquez, her confessor. The Doctor,

grateful to Carillo for his kindness to her relative: not that she cares for her, but that it showed Carillo's good will. Tell him so if you meet him, for Peralta will never find such loyalty in any friend. It is easy to see under Whose auspices the friendship was formed.

Tell Carillo that the business about which she wrote to a certain person in Toledo has never been settled. Undoubtedly he has the jewel in his possession, in fact, he praises it highly and will not return it until he is tired of it. He says he has a reason for examining it. But if Señor Carillo came here, Peralta says he would see another gem which, she believes is much more valuable, as there is nothing outside to take from its beauty.

It is more delicately enamelled and wrought, as the goldsmith says he knows his work better than when he made the other. The gold is purer though the gems are not so conspicuous. It was made after the Jeweller's design, which people say is evident. I do not know why I have given you so long a message: I am always inclined to be prosy, even at my own cost; but as Carillo is your friend you will not mind delivering it. Peralta says she did not send her letter to you by a certain person, as it could only have been a formal acknowledgement and nothing more.

Always let me know about your health. I am glad to hear that on the whole you are free from trouble: this is not my case and yet, I know not how, I enjoy peace which nothing disturbs, glory

who carried matters with a high hand as her director, unhesitatingly ordered her to write the book.

be to God! The noise in my head troubles me as it is continual. Do not forget to pray for me and for our Order, as there is urgent need of it. May His Majesty preserve your Reverence and make you a saint as I ask of Him. Amen. These nuns beg for your prayers: they are very good souls. All of us, especially myself, consider ourselves your daughters.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCIII

Avila, December 10, 1577[1]

TO JUAN DE OVALLE

Family matters. Troubles at the Incarnation.

Jesus be with your Honour.

HAVING little time for writing, I will only say that I am taking great pains about your business. I have written twice to Doña Luisa[2] and think I shall do so again as she seems tardy in answering. I certainly have done and am doing all in my power. May God effect what is best for the salvation of both of you, for that is the chief thing. You need send nothing to that lady, for I fear the money has been wasted. I even grudge the expense of your journey to Toledo, for which I see no results. It would not be a bad plan to give something to her

[1] Fuente 176. The original belongs to the Discalced Carmelites, Bujalance.

[2] Luisa de la Cerda.

brother, who manages the affair; you would lose nothing by it, for they never know what to do unless they see some prospect of gain for themselves.

As gentlemen always spend the winter in the country, I do not know why you both dislike it so much. As you, (I mean, my sister) would have Doña Beatriz[3] for a companion, I do not pity you. Remember me very kindly to the latter.

My health is not worse than usual, which is a great boon.

The nuns are absolved from the excommunication but are as resolute as before. Their state is worse, as the Discalced fathers have been taken away.

I do not know what will happen; I am deeply grieved, for these Calced fathers seem mad.

My brothers are well. They do not know of this letter (I mean from the messenger) though they may have learnt of it elsewhere.

Teresa has no fever, but a cold. May God be ever with you all.

To-day is December 10.

Your unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

[3] Juana's daughter, who afterwards became a Carmelite.

CCIV

Avila, December 10, 1577.[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, PRIORESS OF SEVILLE.

An 'Agnus Dei'. Return of the sisters from Paterna to Seville. The nuns of the Incarnation and the Calced friars. Imprisonment of St. John of the Cross and Fray German. The house at Seville.

Jesus be with you, my daughter!

OH, what a long time it is since I read a letter from you, and how far away you seem! But even if you had been nearer I could not have written to you lately on account of all the disturbances, which will be told to you. I assure you that God does not leave me idle long.

Before I forget it, I want the Anues Dey *(sic)* set with pearls. You need never ask my permission for anything that pleases you, for it pleases me to see you happy. You are very welcome to keep it.

They say the province has revolted again, and I very much wish that as this struggle is going on, you would send at once for the nuns from Paterna; I am extremely anxious that you should.[2] Our Father tells me he wrote to you to that effect by advice of the Archbishop. Obtain the permission from the latter before any one else persuades him to the contrary. The sisters remind me to ask you for a little caraña gum,[3] as it does me great good.

[1] Fuente 177. The autograph belongs to the Valladolid collection.
[2] The nuns had been recalled; they reached Seville on December 4.
[3] An aromatic gum from the palm tree.

It must be pure; for charity's sake do not forget it. You could send it very carefully packed to Toledo, whence it would be forwarded here or give it to a messenger who comes here from Seville.

Be sure to do all you can as regards Paterna, for setting aside the sisters' welfare, it would be for your own peace of mind, for I do not know how they endured such suffering. My companion will give you the history of it.

Will your Reverence inform me whether you have paid for your house, whether you have any surplus money, and why you are in such a hurry to leave it. Explain it to me, for the Prior of las Cuevas has written on the matter.

You must know that the nuns of the Incarnation have been absolved after having (as you are aware) been excommunicated for two months. They were treated very harshly. The king told the Nuncio to order that they should be absolved. Tostado and his advisers sent the Prior of Toledo there. He absolved them, but to tell you of all his oppressions would be too long a tale. He left them in a harder case and more disconsolate than ever, solely because they wished me to be their prioress instead of the nun chosen by the Calced. The Mitigated have deprived them of the two Discalced confessors appointed by the Apostolic Commissary and the late Nuncio, taking them away by force like malefactors. I shall be very anxious until I see the two friars freed from these gentry, for I would rather they were among the Moors. It is said that on the day they were seized, the confessors were thrashed

twice and illtreated in every possible way. Maldonado, Prior of Toledo, took Fray John of the Cross with him to present him to Tostado. The Prior of Avila, having taken Fray German to San Pablo de la Moraleja, told the nuns of his own party, on his return, that he had left the traitor in safe hands. It is said that when Fray German left, blood was flowing from his mouth.

The nuns were then, and are now, far more distressed by this than by all their own sufferings, severe as they are. Of your charity pray for them and for the two saintly captives who will have been imprisoned a week to-morrow. The nuns declare they are saints, and that during all the years they have been at the Incarnation, nothing has been seen in them unworthy of the Apostles themselves.

I do not know where the frenzy of these people will stop. May God in His mercy remedy the evil, of which He sees there is need!

I commend myself earnestly to Fray Gregorio, asking him to obtain prayers for help in all these troubles, for what these nuns are suffering is lamentable; indeed they are martyrs.

I am not writing to him, as I did so a short time ago: his letter went with yours. Give my kindest remembrances to my Gabriela and the rest. May God be with you all!

To-day is December 10, 1579-1578. *(sic.)*

I cannot understand with what money you wish to buy another house; I do not even remember if you have paid for this one. I seem to recollect your saying that you had settled the rent. But supposing that person does not enter as a nun, she

will certainly keep her fortune, especially if she arranges a marriage for her sister. Give me all the details for charity's sake. Your letters will travel safely by Father Padilla, (provided you entrust them to the Archbishop), or by our Father: they would come sooner than *via* Toledo.

Since you are so rich, do not forget to settle the debt you owe my brother. It would be a great help if you only gave him two hundred ducats, as nothing comes to him from the Indies and he pays a yearly rental of five hundred ducats for the property he purchased.

Tell me about the disturbance in the province and who has been made Vicar. Remember me to Father Evangelista and say that God is giving him good opportunities of becoming a saint. Let me know all about the health of yourself and the sisters: if you have not time, my Gabriela will write. Greet Beatriz and Señor Garci-Alvarez from me; I am very sorry about his illness. Give kind messages from me to the nuns and Father Nicolao. May God protect you for me.

Your servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

Take great care of your health: you know its importance. Perhaps you are going to live where you will be roasted alive. Remember that your present home has many conveniences and is newly built, and that I, in spite of all objections, placed you in it, for certainly I desire your comfort. You know how people praised the house.[4]

[4] Mary of St. Joseph was resolute; she moved to another house later on.

CCV

Avila, after December 17, 1577[1]

TO DOÑA INES NIETO

The Saint has an interview with Philip II at the Escorial.

. . . Imagine, Doña Inés, what this insignificant woman must have felt in the presence of so great a king. I was too confused to speak, for his penetrating gaze—one of those that probe the soul itself—was fixed on me and seemed to pierce me through and through. I cast down my eyes and stated my cause as briefly as possible. After explaining matters, I looked at him again, and his expression had changed, being kinder and more mild. He inquired whether

[1] This letter was published for the first time with a photographic reproduction of the original by Don Bernardino de Melgar, Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas, in the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, May, 1519. The first page is missing. The letter describes St. Teresa's interview with Philip II, to which she was probably summoned in consequence of her letter of Dec. 4. This letter was written to Doña Inés Nieto, wife of Señor Albornoz, who was superintendent of the estates of the Duke of Alba and accompanied him as his secretary to the Netherlands. Albornoz seems to have returned with the Duke to Spain where he occupied a position at court. He helped to bring about the marriage between Don Fadrique and his cousin, Doña Maria de Toledo, which the king resented severely, imprisoning both the Duke and his secretary. The Duke was set free in order to conquer Portugal in 1580; Albornoz, who accompanied him, died in October of the same year as secretary to the army in Lisbon.

On December 4, 1577, St. Teresa had certainly not seen Philip II and she must have gone to court before she broke her arm on Christmas eve. As she wrote letters from Avila on Dec. 10 and Dec. 19, the visit must have taken place between Dec. 11 and 18. In a letter of Aug. 19, 1578, she says it was possible to go from Avila to Madrid and return in 5 or 6 days: the Escorial, where the king was, being half-way, there was ample time for her journey.

that was all I wanted: I answered that I had asked a great deal. 'Then', he replied; 'you may be at peace, for all shall be done as you wish'. His words were a great comfort to me. I knelt to thank him for his extreme kindness. He bade me rise, and making this wretched nun, his unworthy servant, the most courteous bow I ever saw, he gave me his hand to kiss. I went away in jubilation, praising God in my soul for the help this Caesar[2] had promised me.

As I left the other building where the Duke was, your kind husband[3], to whom I owe so much, came up to me and told me that the King, our Seigneur, had ordered him to write out my petition so that my wishes might be carried out with no delay. This was done; I dictated and Señor Albornoz noted down my words.

This being over, I set out from Madrid for the convent of the glorious San José, at Avila, where I hope to see the settlement of the affair which has such able administrators.

Trusting that you may have good health and

[2] Though Philip was not emperor as his father had been, the Saint gives him this title here and in another letter — S.C.C.M. — Sacra Cesaria Catolica Majestad. The title 'Caesar' was used in Spain at that time in accordance with the practice that obtained very early in the Roman Empire of so designating the heir-presumptive to the purple. There is a tradition at the Escorial that she began her speech with the words: 'Sire, you are thinking: "I see before me this gad-about woman",' quoting Sega's description of her.

[3] From this we gather that the Duke of Alba and his secretary were probably concerned in bringing the Saint to court, even if they did not instigate the visit. Doña Inés evidently knew all about it, though until this letter was published, none of the historians seem to have mentioned it.

that God will grant you His glory in return for all you do for us, as I ask of Him in my miserable prayers.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite.

CCVI

Avila, December 19, 1577.[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, SEVILLE

Sufferings of St. John of the Cross, Fray German, and the nuns of the Incarnation.

Jesus be ever with your Reverence, my daughter.

YOUR letter came together with the potatoes, the keg, and seven lemons. All arrived in first-rate condition, but the carriage was so dear that your Reverence really must not send me anything more, for I have it on my conscience.

As I wrote to you *via* Madrid rather more than a week ago, I will not say much now for there is nothing fresh regarding the matters of which I told you, and about which we are deeply distressed, as it is sixteen days since our two friars were imprisoned, and we do not know whether they have been set at liberty, though we trust that God will watch over them. As Christmas is near and affairs of justice cannot be attended to until after Kingtide, the sufferers have a long trial before them

[1] Fuente 178. Autograph in the Valladolid collection. (Fr. A.) The handwriting is that of a secretary down to the last paragraph; the rest is by St. Teresa's pen.

unless they have been released. The case of the nuns of the Incarnation is also very sad for they are overwhelmed with troubles especially by their two saintly confessors' having been taken from them and treated so cruelly. Of your charity pray for them all, for their sufferings are lamentable.

I am glad to hear that you and all the sisters are well, also that you have discovered the kind service Bernarda[2] was doing us. God grant the widow may do as you say, so that the nuns may not lose her fortune.[3]

When I wrote to you, I sent a letter *via* Madrid to the Prior of las Cuevas, as I told you, but I am not certain whether this messenger is dependable, so I will say no more.

Remember me kindly to Father Garci-Alvarez, and to Fray Gregorio, whose letter greatly pleased me, though I do not answer it for the reason stated above.

I will inquire whether any one at Avila knows the Rector of Seville and will get some one to write to him. Remember me very kindly to my Gabriela, (whose letter delighted me), and to all the sisters, and give any affectionate message you like to Doña Leonora: tell her it is a great comfort to know she shows such kindness to your community.

To show you what happens, I must tell you that twelve *reales* were charged for the porterage

[2] Doña Maria Valera, mother of Sister Blanca, had been sending generous alms to the nuns by a *beata* named Bernarda who had taken upon herself to give them secretly to some one else.

[3] The widow with the gold nuggets never entered the convent after all.

of your parcel, which was very loosely tied together when it arrived,—I cannot tell why.

Abide with God, and may He give you all as happy a Christmas as I wish you.

December 19.

Teresa and the sisters send you their kindest remembrances. I am suffering severely with my head; (I do not know why people imagine that I do not), and so many troubles coming together make me very weary at times. I am not sure when this letter will reach you, nor whether this messenger is trustworthy. My brother is well. Be sure to give many greetings from me to the nuns and the sisters at Paterna, who make me laugh with their *chant*. As far as we can learn, their hopes will soon vanish and they will see the facts plainly. You may tell them as much as you like from me.

The year 1577.

Your Reverence's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

Mind this: I enjoin you very strictly to obey Gabriela as regards your health, and I bid her take care of your Reverence, for you realize how important your well-being is to us.

CCVII

Avila. December 29, 1577[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID.

The porterage of letters.

Jesus be ever with your Honour. Amen.

AS I am answering your letter by another route, I will not say much except to beg you to inform me by the bearer how many of my letters you have received, if any. I should not like them to be lost as they are most important. As I shall feel anxious until I know whether they are in your hands, will you let me know by the first messenger that goes, and be kind enough to forward the enclosed letter to Captain Cepeda,[2] my brother. Will you see that it goes by a trustworthy messenger and let me have the answer to my inquiries by him, as I think it will be the safest way. May our Lord give you His holy grace. Remember me kindly to Doña Inés and the ladies.

Sunday, December 29.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

[1] Fuente 179. The original letter belongs to the Discalced Carmelites of Logrono. It is addressed to 'The very Magnificent Señor Roque de Huerta, Chief Forester to His Majesty, Madrid.' Roque was helping the cause of the Reform at court and in the Royal Council of which he was secretary.

[2] Jeronimo de Cepeda, then in the West Indies.

CCVIII

1577 Date uncertain.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Dowry of postulants.

. . . Men of the world care little for principle, when self-interest is at stake. This is the case with the Mother Prioress.[2] Having become used to superfluities at Pastrana, she has preserved little poverty of spirit. It pains me, and will do so whenever I witness it for these houses were founded for the glory of God, confiding solely in Him, so that I fear that if we begin to trust in human aid, divine aid may sometimes be lacking. This does not apply to this affair, for I know the gentleman would not send his daughter there if it were the case. However, as we owe him so little, it must have happened by the will of God.

Your manner of visiting the Discalced seems to

[1] Fuente 180. The original belonged to the Marquis de Villa Alegre, Granada, and was longer than the copy that we have.

[2] Mother Isabel de San Domingo (de Ortega), one of the first professed at St. Joseph's, Avila, had been prioress at Pastrana and had transferred her community to Segovia in 1574. St. Teresa speaks of her in the highest terms in her letter to Father Gracian, 1578, saying: 'That convent requires a prioress like Isabel de San Domingo . . . they would not dare to complain of one whose virtue is so well known.' Isabel founded a convent at Saragossa and spent the last 19 years of her life at Avila. She was raised to a high state of prayer and during the last four years of her life, when she was almost speechless and suffering from terrible diseases, her infirmarians used to hear the angels singing to her. Her doctors venerated her as a saint and knelt by her bed-side when they attended her. She died in 1623, after having made two most important depositions for St. Teresa's canonization. (*Œuvres* iii, 328.)

have been taught you by God; may He be praised for all things!

Your Paternity need give me no command on the subject; I take your opinion as such and shall conform to it. I really shall be glad to be freed from the burden, but I fear there is more love of money in some convents than I like. God grant they are not deceiving you more than me. I think that this has been the greatest grief of all to me, and as far as I know my own mind, I am resolved (whether you are near or even, I think, if you were far away,) to receive no postulant without consulting you, even if your Paternity is no longer Superior. It is impossible never to make mistakes: time alone will prove whether we were right, but if we are influenced by dowries, matters will be worse still.

I enclose the information sent by the prioress. When I make many inquiries, I do so for the good of the convents and their affairs. I do not know how she could suggest such a thing; may God forgive her and give her light to judge better in future—but how I am excusing myself! The worst of it is that I am strongly tempted regarding the person I mentioned.

CCIX

Date uncertain, 1577.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Difficulty of finding postulants with all the required qualities.

. . . . As I have often said, your Paternity must not suppose that postulants with money and the qualities required are always to be found. I assure you that I have been obliged to make allowances on account of the small number of candidates, so that perhaps you may not find any nun who fulfils all the conditions . . .

My Father imagines that I have rarely had to make such allowances in new foundations, but I have often done so. We cannot overcome these difficulties without suffering something. . .

The ambition of these sisters astounds me. I allude to the prioress in your neighbourhood. As no doubt she does not understand her own motives, if she performs her duties well otherwise, you should overlook her defects and not discourage her. . .

[1] These fragments are placed here because they seem to have some analogy with the preceding letter. In the Madrid edition of 1771 they are numbered 36, 37, 39.

CCX

Probably written in 1577[1]

A CIRCULAR SENT TO THE PRIORESSES

On the profession of novices.

. . . We decree that the black veil is not to be given to novices who cannot read or write, or who are not sixteen years old.

After a year and three days, the novice asks all the assembled nuns three times, in the refectory or in the chapter room, to be admitted for her profession. Her examination is to take place within a fortnight after giving notice to the examiners. After that period, if the examiners have not come, the examination shall not take place nor shall any one demand it, nor inquire as to the novice's will.

It is not lawful for the bishop or his vicar to enter the enclosure for the examination: but he must come to the choir grille according to the decree of the above-mentioned Council of Trent.

We absolutely forbid that the bishop or his vicar should ask any questions not included in that decree, or which do not relate to the examination. Therefore we desire that the young girls or novices should not be required to answer any questions

[1] Fuente, vol. III, *Escritos sueltos*, xv. Fray Antonio de Jesus states that the original document, in the handwriting of Inés de Jesus, was kept in the convent of Medina where the tradition was that it had either been dictated or originally written by St. Teresa, being probably a regulation made by her and submitted to Fray Hernandez in order that he might give it binding force. The part referring to the examination of novices is quoted word for word from the Bull given by St. Pius V, May 16, 1567 to the mendicant Orders. (*Bullarium Romanum*, V. iv, p. 373. See *Œuvres* iv, 291.) The first part is missing.

except as to whether they are entering the convent of their own free will or no.

CCXI

Date uncertain. 1577 ?[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Prophecy of the triumph of the Reform over its enemies.

. . . . I saw a violent tempest of trials. As the children of Israel were persecuted by the Egyptians, so shall we be persecuted, but God will enable us to pass through the sea dry-shod, and our opponents will be swallowed up by its waves. . . .

[1] Mother Mary of St. Joseph gives this revelation in her *Ramillete de mirra* when speaking of the troubles between the Calced and Discalced at this time. Ribera tells us that it was received by St. Teresa four years before the separation of provinces, which gives its approximate date. (Book IV, ch. v.)

CCXII

Avila, January 16, 1578.[1]

TO DON TEUTONIO DE BRAGANZA, ARCHBISHOP OF EVORA

Congratulations on his consecration. Persecutions of Father Gracian and the Discalced. Sufferings of the nuns of the Incarnation. Seizure of St. John of the Cross and Fray German. Difficulties in the way of founding more convents of Discalced nuns, especially in Portugal.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Most Illustrious Lordship. Amen.

I RECEIVED a letter from your Lordship more than two months ago which I should much have liked to answer at once, but I waited as you asked me until I could announce some lull in the tempest of trials that have beset the Discalced friars and nuns since August. So far, things have grown worse every day, as I will relate. I only wish I could see you, for I cannot express in writing my joy at the news in your letter delivered to me by the Father Rector[2] this week, though I had learnt of it in greater detail more than three weeks before and have heard about it from another quarter since. How could your Lordship imagine that such a

[1] Fuente 182. The Spanish is corrected from a copy of the first edition in the National Library, Madrid, as what was unfavourable to the Calced had been changed by former editors.

[2] Father Gonzalo de Avila.

thing could be kept secret?[3] May His Majesty grant that it may render Him honour and glory and that you may increase in sanctity, as I believe you will. You may feel confident that He will not refuse the earnest prayers of souls who seek His service alone in all their petitions. I, wicked though I am, pray for it continually, as your servants do in all these convents, in which I daily discover souls which put me to confusion. Our Lord seems constantly drawing them to us from such out of the way places that I do not know who can have told them of our Order.

Then let your Lordship be very courageous and never let a doubt that God has ordained it pass through your mind, for I feel certain of it. Be convinced that His Majesty wishes you to carry out your desire of serving Him. You have long been inactive and our Lord stands in urgent need of some one who will uphold the right, for unless God raises up for us some protector, we who are poor and of low degree can do little, however much we strive to aim at nothing but His service. Malice has so increased, and ambition and love of honours are so canonized by those who ought to tread them under foot, that even God Himself seems to seek help from His creatures, though He could avenge virtue without their aid. Since those He chose to succour it have failed Him, He calls on others whom He knows can help.

Let your Lordship strive to carry this out, as I am convinced you will, for I trust that God will

[3] Don Teutonio had been consecrated Bishop of Evora in the previous October.

give you strength and health and grace to succeed in all ways. We nuns aid you by continual prayers: may the Master give you fellow workers with a love for souls to set your mind at ease. It is a great comfort to me that the Society (of Jesus) stands by you as it does; this is the greatest boon in every way.

I was delighted to hear of the success of the Marchioness of Elche: I felt very anxious and distressed about the matter until I heard it had ended satisfactorily. God be praised! When He sends such a multitude of trials at once, He generally brings things right, for, knowing our weakness, and having our welfare at heart, He tempers our trials to our strength. This I believe will be the case with us, for had I not known for certain that our friars and nuns were striving to obey their Rule honestly and fully, I should have feared sometimes that our opponents would have succeeded in their aim which is to destroy this new-born Reform inaugurated by the most holy Virgin. The devil uses such artifices that God seems to have given him leave to wreak his malice.

Such plots and efforts have been used to discredit us (especially Father Gracian and myself, for it is at us the blows are aimed) that I assure your Lordship that if you knew of the calumnies uttered against him and the memorials presented to the King, containing the gravest charges against him and the Discalced nuns, you would be astounded at its being possible to invent such malicious falsehoods.[4] I realize that we have gained much by it. These nuns are as recollected as though it did not affect

[4] See letter of December 4, 1577.

them, and I am astonished at the perfection shown by Father Gracian. God holds a precious treasure in his soul, for he prays specially for his accusers and bears his trials as cheerfully as a St. Jerome. Having been Visitor of the convents for two years, he knows the nuns well and cannot endure their being slandered, for he thinks they are angels and calls them so. God was pleased that those who accused us should withdraw their statements. The other charges against Father Gracian[5] were examined by order of the Royal Council, which brought the truth to light. Other calumnies have been retracted, making it clear that many at court are blinded against us by passion. Your Lordship may feel sure that the devil has been trying to prevent the good that is being done by our houses.

I will not tell you all that has been done to those poor nuns of the Incarnation who, for their sins, elected me as prioress. There was a tumult, and every one in the place is horrified at what the nuns suffered, and still suffer. I see no prospect of its being over, so extreme is the rigour Father Tostado shows them. For over fifty days they have not heard Mass nor may they speak to any one even now. They were said to be excommunicated, but all the theologians of Avila contradict it. The nuns were to be excommunicated if they elected any one outside the convent, but were not told that this was said on my account. They believed that

[5] One of the accusations brought by the Calced Carmelites of Seville against Father Gracian was that he robbed them of 3000 ducats because he had ordered them at his visitation to have all their books and property in common. A very clear explanation of Father Gracian's position is given in St. Teresa's letter of August 10 of this year.

as I had been professed in it and had lived there for so many years I could return to it if I liked, my dowry being there and the Discalced not having a separate province. The Calced fathers confirmed in the office of prioress another nun with fewer votes. The Royal Council is considering the case of the nuns who are doing penance; I do not know how the matter will end.

I was deeply grieved at being the cause of such dissension and scandal in the city, and of trouble to so many souls, for more than fifty-five religious were excommunicated. My only consolation was that I had done all I could to prevent their electing me. I assure your Lordship that one of the heaviest crosses I could have in this life would be to live in that convent, for during all the years I spent there I was never well for an hour.

Sorry as I am for those souls, some of whom are very perfect as is evident by the way in which they have borne their troubles, what has grieved me intensely is that, more than a month ago, by order of Father Tostado, those of the cloth seized the two Discalced friars who were confessors to the convent, who were excellent religious, and had edified the whole neighbourhood during the five years they have lived there, having kept the observance of the community in the state I left it. One of them at least, Fray John of the Cross, is held as a saint by nuns and people, and I do not think they over-rate him: in my opinion he is a corner-stone. These two chaplains had been installed in their office by the Dominican Apostolic Visitor and the

late Nuncio, and as they were subjects of the Visitor Gracian, people are shocked at the irregularity of the proceedings. I cannot tell how the matter will end. What grieves me is that the Calced have taken them both away, we do not know where, but I fear they are being cruelly treated and I dread some catastrophe. The Royal Council is inquiring into a complaint made about this matter also. May God bring things right!

Will your Lordship excuse this long account. I am so glad that you should know the truth about events in case Father Tostado should visit your neighbourhood. The Nuncio[6] has shown him much favour since he arrived and forbade Father Gracian to make his visitation, though the latter does not cease to be Apostolic Commissary on that account as the Nuncio had not shown his powers, nor, he says, had he deprived Father Gracian of his office. However, Father Gracian went to Alcala at once and is now suffering severely in a cave at Pastrana. As I said, he has made no further use

[6] Philip Sega, Bishop of Plasencia and friend of St. Charles Borromeo, had been nominated as Nuncio in Spain before the death of Ormaneto. He was related to Cardinal Buoncampagni, uncle of the reigning Pope, Gregory XIII. and protector of the Carmelite Order and an opponent of the Reform. Before leaving Rome, Sega had been strongly prejudiced by Buoncampagni and the Calced against the Discalced. Unfortunately he did not examine the claims of the latter before taking action against them. However, he did them justice later on and petitioned for the separation of provinces. He was afterwards Nuncio in Portugal and Germany and Legate in France and was made Cardinal by Innocent IX. He died in Rome in 1596. He seems to have been a one-sided judge and to have condemned Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano and one of the founders of Douai College, harshly and rashly when commissioned to draw up a report of the troubles of the English College. (*Ormaneto*, p. 95. *Found.* Introd. XLV. ch. XXVIII, note 5)

of his commission but has remained there. Everything is in a state of suspension. He and all of us are most anxious that he should not continue his visitation, as it would be very bad for us unless we are made a separate province by God's permission. If we are not, I cannot think what will become of us. When Father Gracian went to Alcala, he wrote to me saying that, should Father Tostado make a visitation there, he was determined to obey him and that all we nuns were to do the same. Father Tostado has been neither there nor here. I believe God has prevented him, for, considering what ill-will he has shown since, I think he would have done us immense harm. Those of the cloth declare that it is he who does everything and that he is arranging about making a visitation, which would be fatal to us. In fact, he is the sole cause of all these troubles. It has been a relief to tell you the whole history though your Lordship may find it rather tiring to read, for you are under great obligations to favour this Order; besides, you will know the obstacles to our going to your part of the country. There is another difficulty which I must explain.

I cannot cease to endeavour in every possible way to prevent the destruction of the good beginning we have made, nor does any theologian who hears my confessions advise me otherwise. Consequently those fathers are very angry with me and informed our Father General, so that when the General Chapter he had summoned met, the Calced fathers decided and our Father General ordained that no

Discalced nun (especially myself) should go out of her convent under pain of excommunication. I might choose which house I liked to live in. Obviously, this was done to prevent any further foundations of nuns. It is grievous that a multitude of candidates are clamouring to enter our convents, but as we have so few houses and may found no more they cannot be received.

Though the former Nuncio ordered me not to cease making foundations, and I hold extensive patents from the Apostolic Visitor, I am firmly resolved to found no more convents except by command of our Father General or the Pope, for as I am not to blame, God is showing me mercy by it as I was worn out. But if I could render service to your Lordship, it would not tire me, for it is hard to think I shall see you no more; if I were told to make the foundation, it would comfort me greatly.

But, setting aside the decision of the General Chapter, as the patents granted me by our Father General only applied to the kingdom of Castile, I should require a new mandate. I feel certain that our Father General would not grant one at present. It would be easy to obtain it from the Pope, especially if he were shown a testimonial drawn up by order of Father Gracian, explaining our customs, our life, and the good done to others wherever our communities go. Competent judges say that it would suffice for the nuns' canonization. I have not read it because I am afraid its praises of me are exaggerated.

I should be extremely glad, if your foundation is to be made, that the matter should be settled with the Father General and he should be petitioned to allow further foundations in Spain, for there are nuns who could make them without my leaving my convent. I mean that, when the house was ready, they would be sent to it, for souls are being deprived of great benefits. If your Lordship could arrange it with the Protector of our Order, (who they say is the Pope's nephew), he could settle affairs with our Father General. I feel sure you would be rendering eminent service to our Lord and a great favour to our Order.

As I wish your Lordship to understand the case thoroughly, I must mention another difficulty. Father Tostado is instituted Vicar General of Portugal, and it would be a hard fate, especially for me, to fall into his hands. I believe he would oppose our project with all his strength. As far as we can see at present, he will not be Vicar General in Castile, for he exercised that office there, especially in the case of the Incarnation, without having shown his powers, which gave a most unfavourable impression. He was constrained by a royal mandate to deliver his powers to the Royal Council, having already received a notification to that effect last summer. His credentials have not been returned to him nor do I think they will be.

We have letters from the Apostolic Visitors forbidding any one who is not Discalced and has no order from our Father General, to visit convents; but we have no such guarantee in Portugal and if we were subject to those of the cloth, perfection

would soon collapse. The Mitigated had already begun to do us much harm in Spain before the Apostolic Visitors came.

Your Lordship will know how all these obstacles can be overcome and there will be no want of good nuns to serve you, besides Father Julian de Avila who seems on the point of starting, and who kisses your hands. He is delighted at your good news, which he knew before I told him, and convinced that you will gain much merit in our Lord's sight by your office. Maria de San Jeronimo, formerly Subprioress of this house, kisses your Lordship's hands and says she will gladly go to Portugal to help you if our Lord ordains it. May His Majesty direct all things for His glory and protect your Lordship and increase your love for Him!

No wonder that you cannot be as recollected as you wish among your new duties. Our Lord will repay you double, as He does those who have forsaken self for His service, though I hope your Lordship will reserve some time for yourself, as all our welfare depends on that.

St. Joseph's Convent, Avila, January 16.

For love of our Lord, I entreat you not to torment me by addressing me by such titles.[7]

The unworthy servant and subject of your Lordship,

Teresa de Jesus.

[7] St. Teresa alludes to such titles as 'Reverend', 'Very Reverend,' etc.

CCXIII

Avila, February 10, 1578[1]

TO FATHER JUAN SUAREZ, PROVINCIAL OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, IN CASTILE

The Saint assures him that she had no part in Father Salazar's project of leaving the Society and joining the Discalced Carmelites.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit ever be with your Paternity. Amen.

A LETTER from your Paternity delivered to me by the Father Rector certainly surprised me very much, as it states that I have negotiated about Father Gaspar de Salazar's[2] leaving the Society of Jesus to enter our Order of Mount Carmel because our Lord had revealed that He wished it. As for the first point, His Majesty knows, as you will find to be the truth, that I never wanted it, much less tried to bring it about. When first I

[1] Fuente 183, vol. III, No. 20, first edition. P. Grégoire saw the original letter at Salamanca. Only the first line is in the Saint's own handwriting.

[2] Gaspar de Salazar entered the Society of Jesus while a young man. In 1560 he was made rector of the college of San Gil, Avila, where he became St. Teresa's confessor. (*Life*, ch. xxii-xxv.) He was successively rector at Madrid, Marchena, Cuença, Belmonte, and the professed house at Toledo. He died in 1593, still a member of the Society. St. Teresa speaks of the great graces he received in prayer and the warnings she was to give him of persecutions he would suffer. (*Life*, ch. xxviii, 3.) She sometimes regretted, later on, that she had discouraged his joining the Discalced. Father Salazar told Father Enrique that before the Saint died she appeared to him and advised him about his affairs. St. Teresa owned to Father Enrique that she had done so,

learnt of the project, (which was not by your letter), my anxiety and grief increased the bad health from which I was suffering. I heard of it so recently that I think your Paternity must have known of it long before.

As for the revelation you mention, as Father Salazar has not written to me and I knew nothing of his determination, I cannot tell whether he had any revelation. If I myself had had the 'false revelation' of which your Paternity speaks, I am not so rash as to wish him to make such an important change on that account nor to tell him of it, for, glory be to God, I have learnt from many people what value and credit to attach to such things. Nor do I believe that Father Salazar would be influenced by a revelation unless there were some other motive for action, as he is very shrewd.

Your Paternity says the matter is to be investigated by the Superiors; this would be most prudent: you have only to order it. No doubt the Father will do nothing without your permission since you have spoken to him: at least, so I believe. I will never deny our great friendship for one another and the kindness he has shown me, though I am certain that in what he has done for me, he has been instigated more by a wish to serve our Lord and His blessed Mother than by friendliness to any one.

Indeed, I believe that sometimes we have not written to one another for two years. Our friendship dates from long ago when the Father found me in far more need of his aid as there were only two Discalced friars in our Order. He could have

made this change more easily then than now, when, glory be to God, I believe there are more than two hundred friars, numbers of whom are capable of directing us in our humble mode of life. Never have I thought that the arm of God would be more shortened as regards His Mother's Order than it would be to others.

As for your Paternity's alleging that I wrote to people to spread the report that you were opposing Father Salazar's project; may God never write me in the book of life if such an idea ever passed through my mind! Excuse this expression which I think will make you realize that I behave towards the Society as one who has its interests at heart and who would lay down her life for them, if it would serve our Lord.

The divine secrets are profound, and since I have taken no greater part in this affair than I have owned to you, of which God is witness, neither do I wish to interfere with it in future. Should the fault be laid on me, it will not be the first time I have been blamed when innocent, but experience has taught me that, when our Lord is pleased, He smoothes the way. I cannot believe that even for grave reasons, and much less for one so slight as this, His Majesty would allow His Society to oppose His Mother's Order, which it has helped, by His decree, to reform and renovate. Should He permit such a thing, I fear that what is reckoned as gain in one way will be a loss in others.

We are all vassals of this King: God grant that the servants of His Son and of His Mother may, like valiant soldiers, only watch the flag of our King

so that we may follow His will. If we Carmelites do this sincerely, it is clear that those who bear the name of Jesus cannot draw apart from us as they so often threaten me they will. May God spare your Paternity to us for many years.

I know what kindness you have always shown us, and miserable creature as I am, I often pray for you as I beg you will for me. For the last six months trials and persecutions have never ceased to rain upon this poor old woman, and she does not reckon this matter as the least of them. And now, I give you my word that I will never advise Father Salazar to take this step, nor ask any one else to, nor have I ever done so in the past.

To-day is February 10.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and subject,
Teresa de Jesus.

The following notes from Father Suarez and Father Gonzalo Davila are required to explain what follows.

Note from Father Suarez to the Rector of the Society at Avila, to be forwarded to the Mother Teresa de Jesus.

JESUS

If it shall come to my knowledge that a religious of another Order wishes to enter the Society in this province, which contains twenty-six colleges and houses, and if I judge that it is not expedient to receive him, I will, with the help of our Lord, within twenty-four hours despatch notices forbidding his admission to the superiors of all the houses and colleges in all parts who have faculties to admit him. Most of these superiors shall receive these notices within eight days: all of them shall do so within a fortnight.

Therefore, if the Mother Teresa judges that Father Salazar should not be received into her Order, let her write a letter stating so plainly to the head of her Order, who is to communicate its contents to the rest of the superiors. Or, let her write to the superior of each house to that effect, so that all may be cognisant of it within a fortnight, for the Mother Teresa and Mother Prioress of Avila have known of the matter for a longer period than that. This, with the help of God, will be effectual.

Suarez.

Answer to Letter CCXII from Father Gonzalo Davila, Rector of the Society of Jesus, Avila, enclosing the former letter to St. Teresa.

Jesus be with your Reverence.

I RECEIVED a letter from the Father Provincial yesterday in which he says he is sorry to learn that you were pained by his letter and begs you to read it again, when your present feelings have subsided: you will then see that a better interpretation can be put upon it and you can take it in a kindlier way. He states that you may write to Father Salazar and the superior or superiors of your Order, telling them that he may be received, or refused if there are valid reasons for it. Also that, as Father Provincial, he is satisfied with having done his duty by advising the parties concerned that he is aware of the matter, so that, should the change be made and people found fault with them, the blame might not fall on him for having known of it and said nothing. Father Suarez begs you, for love of our Lord, to remember him in your holy prayers. He says that, God willing, he will soon be in Avila and will then consult you as to whether any more steps are to be taken.

These are the words of our Father Provincial, who sent me the enclosed paper for you. For my own part, I entreat you, for love of our Lord, to carry out his

request with exactitude and to write energetically to the same effect to Father Salazar, as the Father Provincial asks you, for as I remarked this very day, I fear the letter you have already sent him may not be strong enough. Do not hesitate to tell Father Salazar and the Discalced Superiors that the former is not to enter your Order, nor is he to be received without express permission either from the Holy Father or from his own General. Of this I am sure, that you will thus not only not offend our Lord but will please Him greatly.

Will your Reverence return the enclosed paper to me and tell me what you think of doing, as, in my opinion, it will be of no small consequence to you that you should have the charity to accede to our wishes.

Your letters have been given into the hands of Brother Bartolomé Sicilia.

CCXIV

Avila, about February 12, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GONZALO DAVILA, RECTOR OF THE JESUITS AT AVILA

St. Teresa discusses the letter from Father Suarez, S.J. about Father Salazar.

JESUS!

May the Holy Ghost be with your Paternity.

I HAVE read the Father Provincial's letter again more than twice, each time having found in it such a want of regard for me and so strong a conviction that I have done a thing which never crossed my mind, that his Paternity cannot be surprised at my feeling pained. This is of little

[1] Fuente 184, Vol. iv, no. 16 of first edition of the Letters.

consequence, for were I not so imperfect I should be pleased if he mortified me, which as I am his subject he has the right to do.

Since Father Salazar too is his subject, it seems to me that it would be better that Father Provincial should himself stop his project than that I should. Why should I write to religious who are not my subjects, as you suggest, for that is their superior's duty and they would be right in paying little attention to my words? In fact, I can see no other course to take, nor do I know what are the truths you wish me to tell Father Salazar; for short of declaring that it has been revealed to me from heaven that he is not to enter our Order, I know of nothing more that I can add.

But as I said to your Reverence, there is no reason why I should tell every one what I think, which would greatly injure one to whom I owe staunch friendship, especially as I am certain from what he said and what I know of him, that he will take no step without the knowledge of the Father Provincial, and if he does not speak or write to his Paternity, it means that he will not carry out his project. If the Father Provincial can stop it by refusing his permission, I should be affronting a man of Father Salazar's position and religion by aspersing his character in all our priories, (even supposing the friars paid any attention to my request) for it would be a gross aspersion to say that he wanted to do what would undoubtedly offend God.

I have spoken to you with perfect sincerity and I believe I have done all that is required by self-

respect and Christianity. God knows my words are true; were I to do more, I should be acting against both the one and the other.

As I have told your Reverence, when I have done what I believe to be my duty, God gives me courage to bear, with His help, whatever painful consequences may devolve on me.[2] At least I cannot complain that I was not forewarned about them, nor have I omitted doing all I could. Perhaps your Reverence may be more to blame for your request than I am for not complying with it.

I am also certain that, should the result be contrary to your wishes, I shall be censured as though I had done nothing to hinder it and that our having discussed the matter will bring about the fulfilment of the warnings given me. If this means trials for me, let them come and welcome! My offences against the divine Majesty deserve worse punishment than could be inflicted—yet I do not think I deserved that it should be inflicted by the Society, even had I taken any part in this affair, which neither helps nor hinders your interests. Your foundations are laid too deep. God grant that my foundation may be that of never flinching from doing His will; and may He always give your Reverence light to act in the same way. It would be a great comfort and joy to me if we saw things in the same light.

I should be much relieved, if the Father Provincial came here, for it is a long while since God granted me the pleasure of meeting him.

[2] This apparently refers to the last paragraph of Father Gonzalo's letter given above.

The unworthy servant and daughter of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus

CCXV

Avila, February 16, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, AT ALCALA OR PASTRANA

St. Teresa's arm broken by the devil. Affair of Father Salazar. A postulant for Seville.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father, and give you strength this Lent for the work which I know that you have before you! I am wondering whether you will have to travel from place to place. For the love of God, take care you meet with no falls on those bad roads, for I feel more anxious about it since my own arm was broken[2]. The arm and hand are still swollen and my arm is in a bandage like a coat of mail, so that I can hardly use it.

There is a hard frost here; there has been none since the beginning of winter: but, the weather is so fine that one feels the cold here much less than at Toledo—at least I find it so. Perhaps it is because, as your Paternity ordered, a door has been opened

[1] Fuente 185. Most of the original letter is in the convent of Santa Ana, Madrid.

[2] On Christmas eve the devil threw St. Teresa down a flight of stairs and broke her left arm. On rising, she exclaimed: 'God help me! he tried to kill me!' An interior voice replied: 'He did, but I was with thee.' For the rest of her life she was unable to dress and undress herself.

into the ante-chamber near the infirmary, making our cell as warm as a stove. In fact I have got on extremely well in this house as regards the cold. Your Paternity's orders always succeed—God grant I may succeed as well in obeying them!

I should like to know whether the health of Fray Antonio de Jesus still improves and what has become of Fray Mariano[3] who has so completely forgotten me. Will you remember me kindly to Fray Bartolomé.

I enclose a letter written to me by the Provincial of the Society about Carillo's[4] affair, which disgusted me so much that I should have liked to answer more forcibly than I did, for I knew he had been informed that I had no share in the matter, which is the truth. In fact, as I told your Paternity, I was very sorry when I heard of the project and extremely anxious that it should not be carried out. I wrote the most emphatic letter possible to Father Gaspar de Salazar, like the answer I enclose to the Provincial, in which I make my statement on oath, as I thought that otherwise the fathers would not believe me in their present frame of mind. It is most important that they should trust my word about the 'false revelations,' of which he speaks and should not suppose that I used them to influence Father Salazar, which would be a gross falsehood.

But I assure your Paternity that I fear their threats so little, that I am astonished at the liberty

[3] Father Mariano was in safe shelter with some influential friend at Madrid. He was a great favourite of the king.

[4] Carillo was Father Gaspar de Salazar.

of spirit God has given me. I told the Father Rector that when I was convinced that anything would render God service, the whole Society or the whole world could not stop my carrying it out, but that I had done nothing to forward, nor would I stop his project. He asked me at least to write to Father Salazar, repeating as I have said in the enclosed letter that he could not carry out his plan without incurring excommunication. I asked: 'Is he acquainted with the Briefs?' He replied: 'Better than I am.' I said: 'Then I am certain he would not knowingly offend God.' The Father Rector answered: 'Perhaps his strong affection might deceive and mislead him.' So I sent Father Salazar a letter by the messenger who takes this.

How silly it is, my Father, for I knew from certain indications that the fathers had seen my letter to him, though I did not tell the Father Rector so. I warned Father Salazar in it not to trust his brethren, for Joseph, too, had brothers. I know the fathers will read it as it must have been his own friends who revealed his plan. I am not surprised, as they take it overmuch to heart; they must dread his setting an example.

I asked the Father Rector whether any Jesuits had become Discalced. He answered 'Yes: Discalced Franciscans; but they had first been turned out of the Society and were then given permission to become friars.'[5] I said that this might be done

[5] Several young Jesuits who wished for the contemplative life had joined some of the older Orders. Father Barci, S.J., wrote to the Propositor General in 1574: 'The Certosa of Valencia eats into our Society like a moth; unless stopped, it will ruin us. Five students have gone there from this college in the last few years.'

now. But the fathers are not willing, nor am I willing to tell Father Salazar that he ought not to take the step. I will merely state the case, as I have done in this letter, and leave it to God. If it is His work, the fathers will consent; otherwise, (as I say to Father Salazar) I have consulted others on the subject, and he certainly ought not to take the step. Lawyers who hold the contrary opinion must be relying on the common law, like the other lawyer who persuaded me, at the foundation of Pastrana, that I could receive an Augustinian nun, in which he was mistaken. As for the Pope's giving permission, I do not believe he will, for the doors will be closed.

Will your Paternity make inquiries and let Father Salazar know the result, for I should be deeply pained if he offended God, which I am sure he would not do deliberately.

I feel very anxious, for if he remains where he is, he will lose credit from the fathers' knowing of his wish to join another Order, yet he cannot carry out his project unless it can be done lawfully, and I always keep in mind what we owe the Society —though as for their harming us, I do not believe God would allow it. To refuse to receive Father Salazar if we could, out of fear of them, would be to wrong him and would ill requite his kindness. May God direct the matter; He will guide the father, who I am afraid may have been too much influenced by revelations during prayer, for they say he gives over much credit to them. I have often told him so, but with no avail.

It troubles me to think that the nuns of Veas must have had something to do with the plan, as Catalina de Jesus was extremely anxious he should join us. The great thing is that Father Salazar certainly serves God faithfully, and if he is mistaken, believes that he is obeying the divine will. His Majesty will watch over him. But he has got us into difficulties, and unless I had learnt what I told you from Joseph,[6] I think I should have done all in my power to stop the project. But though I do not trust in revelations as this father does, I am most unwilling to oppose him. How do I know that I should not deprive his soul of some great good? for, believe me, it has never seemed to me that he had the spirit of the Society.

While this matter was being discussed, Ardapilla wrote, suggesting that I should tell the ravens to apply to Joannes, asking him to send some one to Avila to examine the case. I should be extremely glad if I had nothing to do with it, but as many objections occurred to me, I excused myself as best I could. I know that he suggests it to help us but really there is no help for the present state of things except to go to the root of the matter, unless Paul takes it into his own hands. May God take charge of it as I wish He would! I heartily regret that I am the stumbling-block for all the rest, and as I

[6] 'Joseph' stands for our Lord and 'Ardapilla' and 'Joannes' allude to the Licentiate Padilla.

Juan de la Miseria says in his autobiography that eight Jesuits wished to join the Reform when the college was founded at Alcala but Father Gracian refused them admittance on account of the objections of their superiors.

have sometimes said, much the best remedy might be to throw me into the sea like Jonas, to calm the tempest which perhaps is raised by my sins.

The Prioress of Seville writes asking me to obtain your permission to admit another sister of Blanca, the Portuguese, who has not reached the canonical age:[7] indeed, she must be much younger. It would be well to receive her to pay the rent of the house, for I cannot remember how much they owe. If, when Blanca's parents pay her dowry, they would lend the convent the amount they would give later on to their other daughter (if she enters), or if they would pay the rent in exchange for her board and lodging, it would not be a bad plan. The sisters are never tired of telling how much they are indebted to this Portuguese. Your Paternity must think it over and do what seems best to you.

If I write to you, I never know when to leave off. My brother always asks me to send you his kind remembrances: will you accept them now, once for all, from him and from all the sisters. May our Lord protect your Paternity and bring you here soon, for you are urgently needed on my account and for other reasons. I do not deny that there may be one of which you are unaware. Doña Guiomar is ill; she comes here rarely, as her complaint has quite incapacitated her.

Will your Paternity send the enclosed letter immediately to Father Salazar, by means of the Prior of Granada who is to deliver it with the

[7] Doña Francisca Freyle.

greatest secrecy. Be sure to insist upon that.[5] I dread any Fathers of the Society writing again either to me or to the sisters here, for they are exceedingly plain-spoken. Or you might send the message *via* Madrid, asking Roque to take special care of it, paying the porterage well. If he entrusts it to the same muleteer, it is sure to arrive safely. On no account neglect this, my Father, for it ought to be sent to Father Salazar to prevent his taking any steps in the matter if he has not already done so. I think it would be well if your Paternity put off giving him the licence; it would be best for him. May God give you what is best for you, my Father, as I desire.

To-day is the first Sunday in Lent.

The letter from the Father Provincial and its answer may prove useful to us some day. If you think so, do not tear them up.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

[5] Father Gracian did not forward St. Teresa's letter to Father Salazar, as appears from her letter of May 22 of this year.

CCXVI

Avila, March 2, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA DE HENARES

Father Gracian's prayer. Father Salazar. The journey to Rome.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father.

I HAVE received two letters from you; one dated the *Carratolendas*,[2] the other enclosing one for the sisters about the good Shepherd. God grant our offerings to Him may be what you wish, but I believe He will give far more than we shall. The little manuscript, too, is good. I do not know why Paul says he understands nothing of (divine) union: what he writes about the obscure light and impetus proves the contrary; but as it passes quickly and is rare, it is not thoroughly realized.

I feel very envious of the souls you are to help and sorry that I am here, doing nothing but eat, sleep, and discuss those fathers, our brethren, who always give us something to talk about as the enclosed paper will show. I have told Sister Catalina to describe what is happening, to save myself fatigue, as it is late and Master Daza will preach us a sermon this evening (a good one!) The

[1] Fuente 186. The original belongs to the Discalced Carmelite convent, Seville.

[2] From *Carnes tollendas*—deprivation of meat—the popular name for Shrove-Tuesday.

Dominicans are extremely kind; they preach once and the Society twice a week to us.

I remember your Paternity's sermons perfectly well.

I do not know what tempts you to travel from place to place to preach, for I am really grieved at the slander spoken against you. God protect you, my Father, but these are dangerous times and it is very rash to move about when there are souls to be cared for everywhere. God grant that what seems zeal may not be some temptation which will cost us dear. *A cat*[3] *sufficed* in that place (I believe there were Dominicans and Franciscans as well) though I cannot imagine that blessed man's (*bendito*) preaching well. Remember me kindly to him and let me know whether the people go to hear his sermons — But what curiosity! — Do not tell me, but tear up this letter lest, for my sins, he comes across it.

So you eat in the hospital! Those nasty cod pies! How we laughed at them! But what they tell me about your Paternity makes me wish you were not so rash. Carillo[4] may well say I am a coward. He has answered the first letter I wrote him telling him it was the devil's plot and a great many other things. He said I made him laugh, and changed his opinion neither much nor little, and that I am like a rat afraid of the cats. He declared he had

[3] St. Teresa had written: '*basta el Padre Castano*, Father Castano would suffice,' but crossed it out and substituted '*bastaba el gato*.' Father Gracian had retired to Alcala while the question of the Nuncio's power to deprive him of his office was being decided at Rome. He now insisted on travelling about to preach Lenten sermons.

[4] Carillo is Father Salazar.

held the Blessed Sacrament in his hands while swearing to carry out his intention, which the whole world could not force him to relinquish. I assure you I am terrified, for his brethren declare that he, and whoever gave him the habit, would be excommunicated. He states that he has his Provincial's permission and a letter from your Paternity, and that though you have a man's misgivings, you write like an angel. He is right, for your letter is angelic. It is hard that the Jesuits should ask us not to recive him; it must be because they believe it is not feasible. They are so energetic that they have probably written to your Paternity already, asking you to give notice to the priories. They urged it on me so persistently that I told them I had referred the matter to you.

Certainly if the thing is to be done and is lawful, as this father declares, it would be far better to have it over than to make such a disturbance by warning the friars. I do not know what you are to do, for if it is lawful, it seems to me against one's conscience not to admit Father Salazar. From what he says, I believe no one will prevent him, so it would be better to defer writing to the priories if you have not written. May God direct the matter, for the more the Society opposes it, the more it seems to me that it would give God glory and the devil is trying to stop it. The fathers must be afraid that Father Salazar will not be the only one to leave them; but they are so numerous that it would make little difference to them, even if those you mention joined our Order.

Regarding Paul's scruples as to whether he may use his power or not,[5] he seems to have been suffering from melancholia when he felt them and wrote to me on the subject. As it is evident from the reasons he gives, I made no further enquiries, for, according to Ardapilla, these doubts will be short-lived, as the memorial from the Archangel has been presented by Gilbert, and he is expected from day to day.

I have shared the terrors of Elias[6] at your absence; there is everything to fear for people who go through those narrow lanes. May the Lord deliver Paul from those who are so blinded that I should not be astonished at anything they did. I am more astonished at him who does not dread them, but travels about without real necessity.

To return to what I was saying. I wrote to Paul long ago telling him that an extremely learned Dominican theologian, to whom I related what had passed with Mathusalem[7] told me (I believe) that the latter had no power unless he showed on what authority he acted; so we need discuss that question no more.

I should have liked to send your Paternity the letter from the Prioress of Valladolid, describing the disturbances about Carillo's affair. She declares that the fathers of the Society are perfectly satisfied with me and the Discalced; she suggests that theirs were empty threats. What preoccupies my

[5] Paul stands for Father Gracian; Ardapilla for the Licentiate Padilla; the Archangel for Gaspar de Quiroga, and Gilbert for the Nuncio Sega.

[6] Father Elias de San Martin, rector of Alcala.

[7] The Nuncio Sega.

mind and causes me misgivings, which I wish your Paternity to examine and state very clearly, is whether Father Salazar can do as he wishes without offending God or incurring excommunication. If what his brethren say is true, your Paternity cannot possibly receive him. If the Count de Tendilla goes to Rome, or even if he does not go there but only presents his petition, I believe that permission will certainly be granted.

I was delighted to hear the good news that the Count was going to Rome, as the friars can accompany him. May God direct the matter and protect your Paternity for me. I do not know whether I have answered all your questions for want of time —but what a long letter considering I have no time! The nuns beg your prayers and are much pleased with the offices you gave them. I have not seen Doña Yomar, who rarely comes here, being in bad health.

To-day is March 2.

Your Paternity's unworthy and true daughter—and what a true daughter! How little I feel that for some of the other fathers!

Teresa de Jesus.

I am extremely sorry that Father Mariano is so delicate; make him eat well and on no account arrange about his going to Rome until he is stronger, for his health is most important. Oh, how long your Paternity's sister delays coming,[8] and how we want her! They tell me my Isabelita[9] is very well.

[8] She took the habit at Valladolid two months later, under the name of Maria de San José.

[9] Father Gracian's little sister, then at Toledo.

CCXVII

Avila, March 9, 1578[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, AT MADRID

Trials of the Carmelites of the Incarnation.

Jesus be ever with you. Amen.

IT will be a week next Monday since I sent you a letter by a waggoner of Avila, telling you of the proceedings of the Provincial Magdaleno,[2] and enclosing copies of the chancellor's letters and the notification made to him. I do not know whether you have received them, and should be glad if you would tell me, as I feel anxious. The enclosed papers will show you what has occurred since. I am extremely sorry for these nuns: in fact, I do not know what to think, except that God must love them very deeply since He sends them so many heavy trials.

For the whole ten days that the Provincial and Valdemoro have been at the Incarnation, they have done nothing but persuade and threaten them, bringing people to tell them what they will suffer unless they obey and vote differently and annul the petition they signed to the Council.

The Provincial is in a great hurry, now he has got what he wanted, to go to court; it is supposed that he wishes to present the nuns' signatures to the Royal Council. I implore you, for charity's sake, to take means to make the truth known, and that

[1] Fuente 187. The autograph is at the Carmelite priory, Madrid.

[2] Fray Juan de la Magdalena, whom St. Teresa often calls by this name.

force has been used: it would be doing a great service to those poor nuns. Do not allow the Council to believe that those fathers' information is true; it has all been a case of tyranny. If Señor Padilla can read these papers, show them to him.[3]

Father Magdaleno has declared positively that he has a royal mandate to seize your person if you are found in Avila, and that he was two leagues from Madrid when they called him back to give him the order. He adds that Tostado has full powers over both Calced and Discalced and that he has sent Fray John of the Cross to Rome.[4] May God, for His Name's sake, deliver the father from his hands, and may He bestow on you His holy grace.

March 9.

Your honour's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

For love of God, I entreat you to make known at once to the members of the Council what force has been used with the nuns. It would be a great boon for all of us, and no one pities these martyrs.

It is three days since this was written, and the Provincial is still tormenting the sisters.

[3] Roque de la Huerta, as secretary to the Royal Council, was able to render great service to the Reform. The Licentiate Padilla had much influence with the king who had appointed him to reform several religious houses.

[4] St. John of the Cross had remained at the Priory of the Calced at Toledo all the time.

CCXVIII

Avila, March 11, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN.

Troubles of the Reform and the nuns of the Incarnation. A postulant.

JESUS be with my Father and deliver him from those Egyptians,[2] for I assure you that I am horrified at what they have done to those poor nuns. I have tried to persuade the sisters to obey, as great scandal is being given, and people here (especially the Dominicans) think that I am right. I suspect that the Mitigated are banding together to destroy the Reform and I am weary of their outcries. In fact, the nuns have suffered for a long time, and unless I had sent telling them that I thought it would not prejudice the justice of their claim, I do not think they would submit.

Their cause has made little progress since the Discalced fathers left them. It is true that I wrote to Roque and Padilla saying that if the Discalced confessors' affair was not cleared up, and the Calced remained as Visitors, there was no need for haste on the part of the Royal Council[3] for it appeared useless for me to go there as prioress, even if the nuns gained their suit. Yet I should seem to be treating them very badly if I did not go there, but

[1] Fuente 188, vol. v. no. 14, 1st edition of the *Letters*.

[2] The Mitigated friars.

[3] The nuns of the Incarnation had appealed to the Royal Council against the setting aside of St. Teresa's election, but as their two Discalced confessors could not plead their cause, Ana de Toledo, the choice of the Calced, was established as prioress.

forsook them after all they have endured. On the whole, I think I shall not refuse especially as, though it seems useless, the Master must succour these souls in some way. I compassionate them deeply, for as you will see by the enclosed papers, they are being afflicted. Be kind enough to forward the Mss. to Fray German,[4] so that he may pray for the sisters. It is well that he has left his prison.

But I am much distressed about Fray John, lest they should bring some fresh charge against him. God treats His friends terribly: though, to tell the truth He does them no wrong, for He served His Son in the same way.

Will your Paternity read this letter, which was brought me by a gentleman from Ciudad-Rodrigo, who came here expressly to arrange about this postulant. He says much in her favour; if it is the fact, she will be an acquisition. She would bring four hundred and fifty ducats and a good trousseau. The community at Alba are asking me for a novice. The girl wants to go to Salamanca, but she would enter at Alba, though the former needs her most on account of the state of the house. She could be received at whichever convent your Paternity chooses. I will undertake to persuade her to consent, and she seems suitable to either place.

Two girls at Burgos are negotiating about their entrance at Avila. They are said to be very good and would have a dowry of fifteen hundred ducats —a sum that is required to finish the house and

[4] Fray German escaped from Moraleja. He was made Prior of Mancera in 1579 and died during the following year with the reputation of a saint.

build the enclosure wall. With the dower of another postulant, everything could be completed. Will your Paternity give the required permission.

What a disturbance that Father of the Society is making about the sister of the Prioress of Veas! I sent to the Prioress of Medina asking her to make enquiries about her. We shall see what they say, for they must know more about it. Your Paternity should be cautious, for such natures do not change. Though Ana de Jesus has seen her several times, as they must have told him, I answered her as though I knew all, being in a hurry and finding that they had spoken neither to the brother nor sister on the matter. The brother is a member of the Society, and I believe that they are helping one another.[5]

It is a severe trial to have been kept so long from making my confession to your Paternity, for much to my grief, there are not such advantages here as at Toledo.

This letter was written yesterday. I have just heard such tales of the unjust treatment of the nuns of the Incarnation, that it is grievous. I fancy some of the sisters here dread falling into the hands of the Calced which does not surprise me, for it is a thing to be feared. May God set matters right and protect your Paternity. It is late at night and the messenger starts early tomorrow.

To-day is March 11.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus

[5] The meaning of this sentence is very obscure; probably the copyist made mistakes.

CCXIX

Avila, Lent, 1578.[1]

TO A RELATION OF THE SAINT AT TORRIJOS.

A letter of condolence. Isabel de San Pablo.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Honour.

AS God was pleased that it should not be my right arm which was broken, I am able to write to you. I am better, glory be to God! and can keep Lent: with the presents you constantly send me, I shall get through it well. Though your kindness is shown to me, yet Sister Isabel de San Pablo[2] is so strongly tempted to love me dearly that it is a much greater kindness to her. Her society is a great comfort to me, for she seems an angel, and it comforts me to know that you and the señoras are well. I kiss their hands repeatedly. I pray earnestly for all of you to our Lord.

I am very sorry to hear of the death of that señora: when the news reached me, I had just written an answer to Don Teutonio congratulating him on the good match she had made. I owe much to him. The members of this family are passing through great troubles; they evidently render God

[1] Fuente 189. The Carmelite convent of Segovia has the original.

[2] A second-cousin of the Saint, the first to be professed at Avila, she having left the Incarnation with St. Teresa. She preserved her baptismal innocence until death.

good service, which is our chief happiness on earth, for if a life so short has any value, it is to purchase eternal life. I thank our Lord that you are not careless in this respect as I beg Him may always be the case with you and these señoras.

Lorenzo kisses their hands and your own repeatedly.

Your unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXX

Avila, March 26, 1578.[1]

TO DOÑA MARIA DE MENDOZA.

Consolation in trials.

JESUS!

MAY the Holy Spirit ever be with your Most Illustrious Ladyship and give you strength to bear such trials, for you have indeed received a heavy blow, and I grieved deeply over your sorrow. Yet the favours that our Lord shows you convince me that He will not fail to console you in this sorrow and to recall to your memory what His Majesty and His glorious Mother suffered in this holy season. If we realize this as we ought, we shall bear all life's trials easily.

I should much like to be with you so that I might share your grief, though even here I have borne no light part of it. My only comfort has

[1] Fuente 190. The original letter belongs to the Discalced Carmelite convent, Ecija. The year is uncertain but the signature shows that it was written after 1576, as before that date the Saint signed herself Teresa de Jesus, Carmelita.

been to beg St. Joseph and our Lord to be with you. Besides our other prayers, we have not neglected to intercede for that holy soul, which I hope God has already taken to Himself, since, before it learnt more of the world's evils, He drew it to Him. All things pass so quickly that, if only our minds faced this truth, we could not weep for those who die and go to gaze on God, for we should rejoice in their gain.

As far as appearances go, I too was very sorry for the Count, but God's judgments are wise and His secrets inscrutable; perhaps the Count's salvation may have depended upon his losing his position. I believe that His Majesty watches over all your interests with special care, for He is a most faithful friend. Let us feel confident that He has considered what is best for souls—all else matters little in comparison. Eternal weal or woe is what signifies; so I beg of you, for love of our Lord, not to brood over your reasons for sorrow but to think about what is consoling. Thus you will gain greatly, but by the other course you would lose. Besides, you might injure your health of which you are bound to take care because of its importance to all of us. God grant you a long life as we beg of Him.

The sisters and the Mother Prioress kiss your hands repeatedly, as I do those of my señora, Doña Beatriz.

To-day is Wednesday in Holy Week. I did not write before, thinking you would not wish for letters.

The unworthy servant and subject of your most illustrious Ladyship,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXI

Avila, March 28, 1578[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, PRIORESS OF SEVILLE.

Sister San Francisco. Postulants. Advice and messages for the nuns.

Jesus be with you, my daughter, and give you and all your daughters as happy an Easter as I ask from Him!

IT was a great comfort to me to know that you are all well. I am as usual; my arm is in a very bad state and so is my head; I do not know what Office they are reciting. Doubtless it is best for me.

I should be very glad if I could write you a long letter full of affectionate messages for every one. Will your Reverence give them for me, especially to Sister San Francisco,[2] whose letters have given us great pleasure. Her office of prioress has shown us her good qualities. O Jesus! how lonely I feel at being so far away from you! May He unite us in eternity, for I comfort myself with the thought that all is passing quickly.

I am amused at what you say about the defects in Fray Bartolomé's sisters, which would be unbearable, even if the candidates could buy the house with their dowries. On no account take either of them

[1] Fuente 191. The autograph is at the Carmelite convent, Valladolid.

[2] Isabel de San Francisco (de Vega) who had been prioress at Paterna. She had been professed at Toledo, and thence removed by the Saint to Veas and Seville.

if they have not their wits about them; it is against our Constitutions and an incurable evil. The other girl of thirteen is very young; the mind is constantly changing at that age. You will know what is best: believe me I wish for whatever is to your advantage.

Before I forget it, I must say that I do not approve of those sisters' writing an account of their prayer: there are many drawbacks to it that I should like to explain. Setting aside the time it wastes, it curtails liberty of soul and may even lead to imagining what did not take place. I will tell our Father if I do not forget; otherwise, you must do so. If what occurs is important, it is never forgotten: if it is forgotten, it was not worth writing down. It will suffice if they speak to our Father about what they remember when they see him. When the sisters have scruples, let them tell them to your Reverence, for if they feel confidence in you, I think God will give you light to guide them. I lay such stress on this because I know the objections to thinking over what to write, and how the devil encourages such things. If the matter is really serious, your Reverence may write it down without letting the nuns know. If I had taken notice of the things San Jeronimo told me, she would never have stopped: though some of them seemed to me certainly genuine, I said nothing. Believe me, the best course is to thank God for giving them to us, and when they are withdrawn I should humble myself, by which the soul is sure to benefit.

What Sister Eliseo[3] says is right, but not being

[3] Inés de San Elias (de Morales) went with Mary of St. Joseph to

so learned a woman as she is, I do not know who those Assyrians are. Remember me very kindly to Sister Eliseo of whom I am extremely fond; also to Sister Beatriz and her mother. I am glad to hear from you about the latter and to receive your good news about all the community. God forgive those friars for treating us so badly! You must not believe all that you hear at Seville. They give us more hopeful news here, which rejoices us, though 'in obscurity'[4] as Mother Isabel de San Francisco says.

Besides my broken arm, I have suffered severely with my heart for several days. Will you send me a little orange-flower water, packed so that the flask does not get broken in transit. I should have asked for it sooner had I not feared such an accident. The *agua de angeles* was so delicious that I felt scrupulous about using it and gave it to the chapel where it did honour on my behalf to the glorious Saint Joseph.

Give very kind messages from me to the Prior of las Cuevas (for I am very fond of that saint) also to Father Garci-Alvarez and to my Gabriela. (Our Mother certainly has some reason for calling her 'my Gabriela').[5] I should almost envy you the joy

Lisbon. She was distinguished by her zeal for strict observance. Inés so disliked being put into any office that, on hearing she was to be made prioress, she prayed that she might die before the election and her petition was granted. (*Œuvres, iv.* 38).

[4] It seems as though Mother Isabel was making a sly allusion to the *noche oscura* of St. John of the Cross.

[5] The last part of this letter is written by the secretary, Isabel de San Pablo, who interposed this little remark. The postscript is also hers. Gabriela had been the devoted infirmarian of the Saint while at Seville.

of living with her but for our deep love for one another and that I know the same mutual affection exists between your Reverence and your daughters. What need is there for Mother Isabel de San Francisco to tell us this? If she had been sent to Seville solely to praise you and your nuns up to the skies, her journey would have been well spent. But wherever your Reverence may be, my Mother, you will always be praised. Blessed be He who gave you such rich gifts which you employ so well. I commend myself to the prayers of my Mother San Francisco—I can say no more—and to all the others, especially Sister San Jeronimo. Teresa commends herself to yours. Señor Lorenzo de Cepeda is well. I hope, my Mother, that you will be able to decipher this letter for as the writing-implement is bad[6] and the hurry great, what can the result be?

To-day is Friday of the Cross.[7]

Do not send more than a small quantity of orange-flower water until we see how it travels.

Yours,

Teresa de Jesus.

The secretary is Isabel de San Pablo, the servant of your Reverence and all your community.

My Mother, I have just remembered having heard that you have some large and beautiful pictures at Seville, which Father Julian de Avila praised very highly. Our Mother told me to ask you for one of St. Paul. Will your Reverence send

[6] The secretary.

[7] Good Friday, when the Adoration of the Cross takes place.

me a very good one, for, (excuse my saying so) it must be one that I shall love to look at.

CCXXII

Avila, April 15, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

The Saint warns him against electing a Provincial without permission; she advises him to have recourse to the King or the Pope or the General instead. Visit of Father Gracian's mother and sister to Avila.

Jesus be with your Paternity, my Father.

SINCE Father Prior of Mancera[2] left I have spoken about the province to Master Daza and Doctor Rueda, as I wish you to do nothing with which fault can be found. Even though the matter should succeed, it would grieve me more than any check to our plans for which we were not to blame. Both my advisers say your project would be difficult to carry through unless your Paternity's commission affords special faculties for it. Doctor Rueda spoke most strongly and I rely greatly on his opinion as he is very judicious, as well as a most learned man. He declares that it is an extremely difficult matter to hold an election, because it is a question of jurisdiction; that without permission from the Pope or

[1] Fuente, 192. Vol. III. No. 22 of first edition.

[2] The Prior of Mancera, Juan Jesus de Roca, had proposed that the Discalced should convoke a Chapter and elect a Provincial of their own, thus making the Reform into a separate province. Unfortunately St. Teresa's warnings were disregarded: the plan was carried out at the Chapter of Almodovar on October 4 of this year.

the General it could not lawfully be done, and the votes would be invalid.

It would be quite enough to make the Calced rush to the Pope and cry out that the Discalced had withdrawn from obedience by choosing their own superiors in an unauthorized way. It has an ugly sound. Doctor Rueda thinks it would be more difficult to get such an election confirmed than to obtain permission from the Pope for a separate province, which he would be willing to grant if the king wrote to his ambassador to ask for it. This would be easy to manage if his Majesty were informed how the Calced treat the Discalced. Perhaps, if the matter were laid before him, he might be glad to take the step. The petition would be a great help for the Reform, as the Mitigated would respect it more and not imagine that they would be able to abolish it.

Would it not be well for your Paternity to submit the question to the Father Master Chaves,[3] enclosing the letter I send by Father Prior? He is very sagacious, and by using his influence with the king might perhaps obtain the latter's intervention. In that case our friars who are going to Rome might take the royal letters with them. But on no account ought they to relinquish their project of going there for as Doctor Rueda maintains, the most sure and straightforward way is to appeal to the Pope or the General.

I assure you that if Father Padilla and the rest of us had had recourse to the king, our affair would

[3] Fray Domingo Chaves, Dominican, confessor and almoner of the king. He had been one of the Saint's confessors.

have been settled by this time. In fact, your Paternity might yourself address his Majesty and the Archbishop[4] on the subject, for if the king has to confirm and approve the Provincial's election it would be better that he should do so beforehand, so that if he refuses his consent we may avoid the blame and failure of the election's proving invalid. Your Paternity also would be greatly discredited by having undertaken what was beyond your power and committed a blunder.

The Doctor said it would be more tolerable if the Dominican Visitor or some other person made the election than that the Discalced superiors should themselves hold it, and that, as I said, in these cases of jurisdiction, the important point is that the principal superior should be invested with lawful authority.

I lose heart at the thought that people would have some right to blame your Paternity, though my courage only takes a stronger flight when you are not at fault, therefore I have not lost a moment in writing this so that you may consider the matter seriously.

Do you know what has occurred to me? that perhaps our Father General may have made use against us of the letters I wrote him (though they were very good in themselves) by showing them to the Cardinals and that perhaps I had better send him no more until our affairs are settled. It would be well, if there is an opportunity, to make the Nuncio a present. I know, my Father, that when you are in Madrid, you do a great deal in a day:

[4] Don Quiroga.

if you talked to one person and another and to your friends at court, and Fray Antonio spoke to the Duchess, much might be done towards persuading the king to carry out what we plan, as he wishes to maintain the Reform. Father Mariano might mention the matter, as he sees him to speak to, and could explain our position, beg him to help us, and remind him that the little saint, Fray Juan, is in captivity. In fact the king listens to every one, and I do not understand why Father Mariano, especially, does not discuss our affairs with him and beg his aid.

But how I chatter and what nonsense I talk to your Paternity, and you put up with it all! I assure you that I feel crushed at not being free to carry out and insist on what I have said being done. Now that the king is setting out on a long journey, I wish something could have been settled first. May God accomplish it as He has the power. We are all longing for these señoras' visit.[5] The sisters at St. Joseph's are firmly resolved not to allow your sister to leave them without giving her the habit. It is extraordinary how anxious the nuns are to please your Paternity! I am very grateful to them as they form a large community and are in need of money, yet they never reckon that, on occount of their longing to have some one among them related to you. Oh! what does not Teresita say and do! Yet I am glad to have her here, for if she left she would go so far away that I could not enjoy her

[5] Father Gracian's mother, Doña Juliana Dantisco, who was to pass through Avila with her daughter whom she was taking to the convent at Valladolid.

company and might perhaps never see her again. However, the decision as to her home rests with me and I ought to oppose her staying here for she has been received for Valladolid where she would be very well off, while the nuns, especially Casilda, would be much disappointed if she did not go there. It is Juliana who will stay here, though I say nothing on the matter. It would be very hard for Doña Juana if I sent her to Seville, and even the girl herself might feel it when she grew up. Oh! how I long to have your other sister, the one who is with the Doncellas. She remains there and is unhappy for want of knowing the remedy, but she would be more at her ease here.

My brother Lorenzo, who is taking you this letter, is on his way to court, and I believe will go from there to Seville. Will your Paternity kindly allow him to enter the convent there to examine a cooking-stove installed by the Prioress, of which they speak wonders. Unless he sees it, we cannot have one made like it here, and if it is what they say, it would be a real treasure for all the friars and nuns. I will write asking her to allow him to enter the enclosure. But if your Paternity thinks this unnecessary, let me know, as he will be spending some days in Madrid. If you only read what they write about that stove you would not be surprised at these nuns wanting one like it. They declare that it surpasses Soto's forge[6] and more could not be said in its favour.

As I believe that Mother Prioress is writing to

[6] The forge near the convent of St. Joseph's.

you, I will conclude, only asking God to have your Paternity in His care for me. The Prioress of Alba is as ill as she can be. Pray for her, for, say what they will, hers would be a great loss to us as she is very obedient, and when that is the case, a nun corrects all her faults when she is told of them. Oh! What a trial the Malagon community is suffering from Brianda's absence! But I laugh at the idea of her returning there.

Doña Luisa de la Cerda has lost her youngest daughter. I am deeply grieved at the troubles God sends her. The widow is now the only daughter left her. I think it would be well for your Paternity to write to console her, for you owe much to her.

Will you consider the question as to your sister's remaining here? I will not oppose it if you prefer it, or if Doña Juana would rather keep her near her. But I fear lest, having already decided on her own account to enter at Valladolid, she might be tempted about it later on if she stayed at Avila for she will hear of things they have there which are lacking here, were it only their garden and orchard, for the soil of Avila is miserably sterile.

God have you in His care for me, my Father, and make you as holy as I wish. Amen, amen. My arm is recovering.

To-day is April 15.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,

Teresa de Jesus.

Doña Yomar is at Avila; she is better in health and very desirous of seeing your Paternity. She is

weeping for her Fray John of the Cross as are all the nuns. This has been a painful affair: the Incarnation is beginning to return to its former condition.

CCXXIII

Avila, April 17, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Dangers of Father Gracian's intended visit to Avila. Doña Juana and her daughter Maria's journey. Objections to the Discalced holding a General Chapter for electing priors.

Jesus be with your Paternity, my Father!

OH, how ill you acted in sending me so short a letter when you had so safe a messenger as Juan! I was indeed glad to see him and to learn all particulars about your Paternity. In the letter I gave to Father Prior of Mancera for you, I answered several of the questions you ask. Your making so much of my opinion is a real mortification for me. Whatever appears right to you, will be the best thing.

I have grown so timid from seeing that the devil draws harm from whatever is good that, while those fathers[2] are in the ascendant, I wish to give them no further chance of speaking or acting against us, for, as I said, they make use of every opportunity, and I should not be astonished at any-

[1] Fuente 193. The original letter is at Seville.

[2] The Mitigated.

thing they did. They do not think they offend God, as their superiors are on their side, and they do not care for the king, finding he says nothing, whatever they do. If they should venture to interfere with your Paternity, it would be a most unhappy thing for us, as, setting aside the deep grief and affliction which we should all feel, we should lose all courage and our cause would be lost. May God deliver us as I believe He will, but He wishes us to help ourselves. That is why, besides the other reasons I mentioned when writing to your Paternity, I force myself not to ask you to come here, much as I should like it.

The Prioress of Alba[3] is extremely ill; that is the place which chiefly needs your Paternity's presence. I wish the journey were safer for you than it can be at present, and that you would remain where you are until things are more settled and *that* Peralta[4] has left. I know what the Mitigated have done since the king sent for Father Mariano, though they would not be so daring in Madrid as they are here. On the other hand, it pains me so that I do not know what to say, except that life in this world is no longer endurable.

Your Paternity questions whether it would not be better to travel by another route, as Avila is out of the way. Although I very much wish to see the señoras, yet if your Paternity accompanies them you could keep your journey a secret better by the other road as it does not pass by the

[3] Juana of the Holy Ghost.

[4] 'Peralta' stands for Tostado, who was then at Madrid: in the beginning of May he returned to Portugal.

priories of any of these good Calced friars (*benditos*). Otherwise, it would be extremely hard that, for the sake of saving eight leagues, you should refuse me this favour. They could rest here for a few days and give us the pleasure we are all looking forward to eagerly. I said this in the letter to your Paternity which my brother (who left to-day for Madrid) is taking to you.

In the third place, I am very sorry to hear of the plan of Doña Juana's accompanying her daughter to Valladolid: this would involve a journey of eighty leagues, from which she might be dispensed as her health is valuable to us. I made the journey myself, and though it was as easy and pleasant as possible because I travelled with Doña Maria de Mendoza, I found it very wearisome.

Your Paternity must know that I am determined your Mother shall go no farther than Avila, for which there is no real necessity if a maid accompanies Doña Maria and her brother, as matters are already arranged at the convent. It would be a great mistake for Doña Juana to undertake such fatigue, as she has already seen her daughter. It would be better even if she deferred her visit until Doña Maria takes the veil, when, God willing, there will be less danger and your Paternity could accompany her without so much risk. Your Mother's health is so precious that I venture to assert my opinion, and shall at all events do everything in my power to prevent her going farther than Avila, which is not a trying journey in fine weather.

It has just occurred to me that if she comes by

carriage it would be best to chose the Avila route, as I believe it has no mountainous passes as the other has.

I have been wondering whether, (supposing that Doña Juana does not come and no one but Señor Tomas Gracian[5] accompanies his sister,) it would not be well for Fray Antonio de Jesus to go with them, as he has recovered from his illness. You will say that he too is a Discalced Carmelite, but his white hair will disarm criticism. No notice will be taken of the travellers as your Paternity will not be of the party, for it is on you that all eyes are fixed just now. I should be very glad to see Fray Antonio now that he has risen from his sick bed. This idea occurred to me: if it is unpractical, treat it as nonsense for I do not understand what I am talking about.

I assure you that I should be delighted to see Doña Juana but I think it would be extremely rash of us to allow her to undertake the journey, especially if she went further than Avila. God deliver me from myself since I care so little for my own consolation, and may He give me some opportunity of solacing my soul at leisure with your Paternity!

My brother gave you my letter in which I stated how difficult Doctor Rueda and Master Daza considered it would be to elect priors without a mandate from the Pope or the General, because it is a matter of jurisdiction. As I have written at length

[5] Tomas, Father Gracian's brother, who succeeded his father as secretary to Philip II.

on the question,[6] I will only ask you to reflect upon it seriously, for the love of God. It is very laborious for you to consider every matter so deliberately, but God will grant you easier times in future. For the present, my Father, we must so act that He will protect you. The Prioress and Subprioress have sent you letters by my brother.

Should you require any help from Judge Covarrubias you must say so; he is very intimate with my brother.

God be with your Paternity and preserve you to me for many years, making you very holy.

To-day is April 17.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

You must know, my Father, that I feel distressed, as I did not expect Doña Juana would come so soon. The choir is roofless, the workmen are very noisy, and the grilles have been removed, yet I should have been delighted to see her at the grille. What a life! What with the heat and the cold we could not stay in the choir, but it will be very comfortable now. Consider whether it is possible to give leave for Doña Maria to enter our house; it is extremely untidy, but that will only make her like her own convent better.

[6] See letter of April 15.

CCXXIV

Avila, April 17, 1578[1]

TO DOÑA JUANA DANTISCO[2]

Joy at hearing that Doña Juana is coming to Avila.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit ever be with your Honour and repay you for your letter to me and the good news it contains. Your visit to Avila with Doña Maria[3] will be very welcome.

You have much reason to be pleased for I do not know what better fortune could be granted you than that God should call your daughter to a state in which, while serving His Majesty, she will find deeper peace than can be imagined. I trust in God that it will render Him great service.

On the one hand I longed that you should come here, for it is some time since I have had much pleasure in anything. On the other hand, I was grieved at seeing you undertake so long a journey which could be avoided, as I care more for your

[1] Fuente 194. The autograph belongs to the Discalced friars of Alcala.

[2] Juana Dantisco, the beautiful daughter of the Polish ambassador at Madrid, married Diego Gracian and bore him twenty children, many of whom became Discalced Carmelites.

[3] Maria de San José (Dantisco) took the habit at Valladolid on May 5 at the age of fifteen and was professed the following year. St. Teresa's letters constantly mention her in high terms. She was at Madrid at the time of Father Gracian's expulsion from the Order. She bore the trial in silence and perfect patience, but for a month she lived almost without food and sleep, spending her time in prayer and penance. Maria was twice prioress at Consuegra and died after severe suffering in 1611. She appeared in glory to her sister Juliana, a nun at Seville. (*Œuvres* III, 405.)

health than for my own comfort. I wrote to our Father Visitor on the subject, and about his joining you, to which there would be many drawbacks. Whatever he decides will be for the best.

I have not received the letter you say you wrote to me. The Mother Prioress and all the sisters desire to be remembered to you and are looking forward very much to a visit from you and Doña Maria. May God direct all for His greater glory. Our sisters at Valladolid are getting the serge for your daughter's habit. I beg His Majesty to protect you and the secretary, to whom I wish to be kindly remembered, also to the señoras, especially Doña Adriana, though really she is very forgetful of me.

To-day is April 17.

Your unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

My dear little Isabel de Jesus[4] has already written to me. All the nuns say they cannot express how pleased they are with her, in which they are right.

[4] Isabelita (Bela), Father Gracian's little sister, twelve years old, then at Valladolid. She had worn the habit four years.

CCXXV

Avila, April 26, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Rash judgment of superiors. Arrival of his mother at Avila.

JESUS be with your Paternity, you who are both my Father and my superior as you say, which caused me no little laughter and pleasure. In fact, whenever I recall your words I am amused at the solemn manner in which you declared that I must not judge my superior. O my Father! how little need there was for you to swear, even like a saint, much less like a muleteer, for I thoroughly realize that fact.

When God gives such zeal and longing for the good of souls as He has to your Reverence, He does not withdraw that zeal when the superior's subjects are in question. I will say no more now, except to remind your Paternity that you gave me leave to criticize and hold my own opinion of you.

Yesterday, April 25, the Señora Doña Juana arrived late in the afternoon; in fact, almost at nightfall. She was in very good health, glory be to God! I was delighted to see her, as day by day I love her more and she seems better and more sensible. I was highly pleased with our nun[2] whose joy is beyond description. She seemed, when she entered as though she had lived here all her life. I trust

[1] Fuente 195. The autograph belongs to the Carmelite nuns, Alcala.
[2] Maria de San José who must have entered the enclosure.

in God great things will come of her; she has a fine character and mind. I heartily wish that Doña Juana were not going to take her any further, but your Paternity has made this angel so fond of Valladolid that no persuasion would induce her to remain here. May God be praised and may He watch over your Paternity.

The unworthy daughter of your Paternity.
Teresa de Jesus.[3]

CCXXVI

Avila, April 26, 1577[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, AT MADRID

Teresita wishes to leave Avila for Valladolid with Doña Juana and her daughter.

. . . Oh, as for Teresita! what has she not said and done, although she behaved well, declaring discreetly that she would do as I wished, though she showed plainly that it was not what she wanted. I talked to her in private and told her a great deal about this convent: how it had been founded by miracle and other things. She answered that she did not care more for one place than another, and we thought we had begun to influence her, though I saw she was sad. She ended by secretly asking Doña Juana to be sure to take her to Valladolid

[3] P. Grégoire, who has seen the autograph at Alcala, says that it ends here. What is printed by Fuente as a continuation is here given as a separate letter.

[1] Fuente 195. This may have been a note or a postscript written on another sheet of paper.

without letting any one know that she wished it.

Doña Juana and I think that the only course to take is to allow Doña Maria to receive the habit at Valladolid, lest she should regret leaving Avila for that convent if she had been clothed here. She stated plainly to me that she would feel pained at changing, and ought not to leave the house that she had once entered, so I believe that Doña Juana will start after dinner tomorrow with her daughter. I should have preferred her stopping here until Monday, but when I discovered how expensive it would be, I did not like to say much to persuade her. She is staying with my brother, and Aranda takes great care of her. May God be with her! I feel very anxious about her, although she has accomplished the worst part of her travels and was quite well when she arrived. God will be pleased to prevent her being injured by the journey, and she is healthy and has a good constitution. I embraced her at the door when the Señora Maria entered the convent, for I love her dearly. May God bring her safely home, for she is very precious to us. May He be praised and may He watch over your Paternity.

Your unworthy daughter,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXVII

Avila, April 30, 1578[1]

TO MOTHER ANA DE SAN ALBERTO PRIORESS OF CARAVACA

Permission to profess three novices.

IN virtue of the authority deputed to me by the Father Visitor Provincial, the Maestro Jeronimo Gracian de la Madre de Dios, I grant permission to the Mother Prioress of Caravaca, Ana de San Alberto, to admit to their profession Sisters Florencia de los Angeles, Inés de San Alberto, and Francisca de la Madre de Dios, and I give leave to the sisters to pronounce their vows. God grant it may be for His honour and glory, and may He make them worthy daughters of the Virgin, our Lady and our Patroness! Amen.

Written at St. Joseph's, Avila, April 30, 1578.
Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite.

[1] Fuente *Escritos sueltos* 12. The autograph belonged to the Discalced friars at Venice in the 18th. century.

CCXXVIII

Avila, May 7, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, AT MADRID

Doña Maria takes the habit at Valladolid. Projects for the Reform. The Saint's arm operated on by a bone-setter.

Jesus be with your Paternity, my good Father.

I LEARNT the day before yesterday that Doña Juana reached Valladolid in good health, and that on the eve or the feast of the holy Angel, Doña Maria was clothed. God grant that it may be for His honour, and may He make her a great saint! The Prioress of Medina wrote telling me that she would have been glad to give her the habit had Doña Maria wished it, but I do not think she did. As I told you in my letter, the nuns at Valladolid were much disappointed at your Paternity's not having gone there. I have told them that, God willing, you will soon visit them; indeed, your presence there is greatly needed. As Tostado has left, there is nothing to fear.

I am writing to ask Father Mariano to bring you with him if he comes here with the Sicilian Father[2] as your presence will be necessary, if anything is to be arranged concerning the plan mentioned in his letter. If what this friar says is correct, I assure your Paternity that it affords a prompt

[1] Fuente, 196. The autograph belonged to the Discalced priory, Guadalajara.

[2] Padre Silicien. He is supposed to have been an Italian priest who might be able to influence the Father General.

way of arranging matters with our Father General: all other means seem to me very tardy. If this proved unsuccessful, we should still have time to try other measures. May God prosper the plan.

Should the Sicilian Father not come here, I should like you to have an interview with him. I think we ought to discuss the whole matter with him, though whatever your Paternity decides upon will be best.

As I wrote you a long letter a few days ago, I shall not say much now, for letters arrived from Caravaca to-day which I must answer and I am writing to Madrid.

O, my Father, I forgot! The woman came to cure my arm,[3] which cost not a little to both of us. The Prioress of Medina did well in sending her. I had lost the use of my wrist, and the pain and labour of restoring it were terrible as it is a long time since I had the fall. But after all, I am glad of it, for I have experienced some small degree of what was suffered by our Lord. I think the arm is cured, though on account of the agony I suffer, I can hardly judge. Still, I can move my hand easily and lift my arm to my head, but it will be some time before the cure is complete. Believe me, if the

[3] The woman was a *curandera* or quack bone-setter. St. Teresa sent the nuns to the choir to pray for her while the *curandera* with her companion, a strong peasant woman, wrenched the arm which had healed wrongly and reset it. The Saint uttered no sound and the sisters found her as calm and composed after the operation as they left her. She said she was glad to share something of our Lord's pain when He hung on the cross. In his deposition for the canonization, Fray Diego de Yanguas stated that, when describing to him how her arm had been broken and reset several times, she said 'I do not think any living human being has suffered as I have.'

woman had delayed a little longer, I should have lost the use of my hand. To tell the truth, I should not have grieved much if it had been God's will. So many people went to the woman to be cured that my brother's house could not hold them.

I assure you, my Father, that since you left, I have undergone suffering of every kind. Sometimes, when one cross succeeds the other, the body becomes weary and the soul grows somewhat cowardly though it seems to me that the will remains firm.

May God ever be with your Paternity. Your daughters here commend themselves to your prayers.

To-day is the Vigil of the Ascension.

Doña Yomar's[4] health is better: she is here now.

Your Paternity's unworthy daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXIX

Avila, May 8, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Fray Antonio and the nuns of Malagon. Ana de la Madre de Dios as Vice-Prioress.

Jesus be with your Paternity!

TO-DAY, the feast of the Ascension, after having written the enclosed letter, I received yours, *via* Toledo, and they pained me deeply.

[4] Doña Yomar had entered as a postulant but was obliged to leave on account of ill health.

[1] Fuente 197. This letter was No. 25 of Vol. IV, in the first edition.

I assure you, my Father, that this measure is most imprudent. Tear up this letter directly you have read it or you know what will happen if my correspondence with you is added to the other grievances he[2] has against me. I am weary of him, for though I like him very much, (in fact, very much indeed,) and he is a saint, I cannot but recognize that God has not given him talents for a ruler. Now do you not see how he gives credence to these nuns, blinded with passion as they are, and without further inquiry seeks to abolish and introduce whatever he chooses.

I am aware that the Vice-Prioress[3] is unfitted to rule; however, her faults are not such as to disgrace the Order but are confined to the convent. I had already written to the community, telling them that you will visit them and set matters right, and that they must consult their confessor about their temptations instead of the nun in charge. It is most unwise to wish to give Sister Isabel de Jesus authority over that community as Subprioress, for the two or three days during which she held that position while Mother Brianda was there furnished those same nuns with subjects for endless tales and jokes. They shall never have her for that office, for though she is a good nun she is unsuited for the charge. It would be folly to deprive Ana de la

[2] Fray Antonio, who had visited Malagon to set things right in the convent.

[3] Ana de la Madre de Dios (Palma). (See letter of July 2, 1577.) She was made temporary prioress at Malagon during the illness of Brianda de San José. The nuns leagued against her, supported by an indiscreet confessor, and their accusations were believed by the Visitor Fray Antonio de Jesus.

Madre de Dios of her position for two days, by which time Mother Brianda may be back at Malagon, so eager is Father Antonio to take her home. For my part, I should be very reluctant to let her return unless she were soon to leave for another foundation, as I dread her being at Malagon while he remains there.

Fray Antonio accuses the Vice-Prioress of not helping the Discalced fathers, but that was on account of your Paternity's decree. His other accusations regarding her I do not believe, nor that she opposes what is done for me, because I know her character. She is not mean but very generous. Evidently the community make mischief of everything she says. Your Paternity knows that Mother Brianda wrote asking me to forbid Ana de la Madre de Dios sending any help to the Discalced friars, yet a nun complains to me that she has spent more on them than on all the invalids together, though the sick have been very numerous this year. My opinion is, my Father, that what with the priest who is there, and what with their own frame of mind, they would find plenty of faults in St. Clare if she went to the convent.

Their charge against the Vice-Prioress of neglecting the sick is a gross slander, for she is most charitable. I found the former superior very close-fisted, my Father. However, that matters nothing as long as the reputation of the community does not suffer, especially in a place visited by so many people as Malagon is. What they say about the honour of their house being tarnished by Brianda's

going to Toledo is untrue, for she went there by the doctor's orders on account of her health. I do not know what your Paternity can decide in such a case. I am glad Father Antonio forbade them to mention Mother Brianda; it was the wisest course he could have taken.

Will your Paternity be good enough to inquire into the matter seriously. The best plan would be to send them as Prioress such a nun as Isabel de San Domingo[4] with a good Subprioress, and to transfer some of the nuns to other convents. You ought to write to Fray Antonio promptly, directing him to make no changes until you have investigated the affair thoroughly. I, for my part, will tell him that he can take no further steps until he knows your Paternity's orders. I will disabuse him on certain points.

I am sorry about the state of the house at Malagon; it is a pity that no one should have come to the nuns' assistance. They must have started building some small part of the convent; I should like them to finish two floors and have the enclosure wall erected, so that if no more can be done at present, all will not be useless. They would be better off in that way than they are now, however short their stay may be. Will your Paternity write and tell them.

I do not know, my Father, how you could have deputed Father Antonio as your delegate at Malagon without cautioning him on several subjects. I am amazed; besides, it seems to me a disgrace

[4] Isabel de San Domingo was then Prioress of Segovia. See letter of May 15, 1577.

to the convent that nuns should be deposed from or raised to the post of superior in so senseless a manner. If I thought it possible that N... would mend his ways, the best plan would be for him to return there and finish his priorate, but I have lost all hope of his improvement, and Fray Bartolomé de Jesus, Fray Francisco de la Concepcion and Antonio Ruiz so insist upon his not going back that I think it would be rash to allow it.

Will your Paternity investigate the matter and decide as God leads you to think best, which is the safest course. I will ask Him to enlighten you. But it is necessary to look to the affair at once and to prevent Father Antonio's martyrizing that saint —for a saint she certainly is. May God be ever with your Paternity.

Your unworthy subject,

Teresa de Jesus.

I do not think that Mother Isabel de San Domingo would be averse to going to Malagon and she could reduce that community to order. Then either Mother Brianda or Mother Maria de San Jeronimo could be sent to Segovia. May God remedy the evil! The warm climate would not suit Mother Isabel de San Domingo's health, but the nuns would not dare to complain of her on account of her high reputation.

I have opened this letter to cross out my words about Father Mariano, in case it should be mislaid. I am tempted to be very angry with him.

CCXXX

Avila, May 14, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Father Gracian's health and work. The clothing of his sister at Valladolid. The convent of the Incarnation. Money matters. Project of foundations at Villanueva de la Xara and Madrid.

Jesus be with your Paternity.

I HAD written this letter and was just about to send it when our Discalced brethren arrived and gave me those from your Paternity. I assure you that they restored my health, for I received those I enclose from Malagon last night, and the fatigue of reading and answering them increased a severe cold in the head from which I am suffering, but the pleasure your letters gave me has revived me. God be praised for granting you the strength to render Him such service and help so many souls. It is an immense consolation to me.

Yet I should be glad if you were here, for the district in which you live must be very unhealthy as no rain has fallen. I do not know why you prefer it to Avila unless it is that God, Who knows the future, has chosen this season for you to minister to these souls, and your efforts cannot but bear much fruit.

I forgot to say in the enclosed letter how annoyed I feel at Fray Hernando Medina's having given the

[1] Fuente 198. During the last century the autograph was in the possession of a gentleman living in la Bañeza.

habit to our novice.[2] I do not know why that foolish prioress is so anxious to please the Calced fathers. The letter from Fray Angel[3] which I transmit to you shows that they knew you were to come with your sister. I am glad that you did not as now you can make your visit satisfactorily. I have already written to Ardapilla,[4] asking him to persuade you to go there, and explaining some of the reasons why your presence is required. In fact, even if you do not wish it, you must come for it cannot be avoided.

I have been thinking what a comfort it would be to me to have my daughter Maria de San José here with me, for her good handwriting, intelligence, and cheerfulness would be a help to me. May God bring it about after her profession, though young girls do not care for being with old women. I even wonder at times that your Paternity does not weary of me, unless it is that God so decrees in order that I may be able to bear my life in which I have so little health and pleasure except in your company. I even think that one who receives favours from God and loves Him truly cannot but like to be with a person who desires to serve Him.

It will try me severely if Ardapilla comes here with his old refrain about the Incarnation. I sent to ask your Paternity whether his authority gives him the right to order me to go there, and you did

[2] At the invitation of Mother Mary Baptist, the Calced friar, Hernando de Medina, had given the habit to Father Gracian's sister, Maria de San José, at Valladolid.

[3] Fray Angel de Salazar, Provincial of the Mitigated.

[4] The Licenciate Padilla, who wished St. Teresa to be obliged to return to the Incarnation as Prioress.

not answer. I must tell you that I should resist to the uttermost, for it would be useless to be there without the former confessors and while the convent remained under the authority of the Calced fathers. But if I am obliged to undertake the office under pain of sin, you see that I am helpless. For charity's sake, speak decisively, saying clearly what I may and what I may not do: you ought not to write so obscurely on such matters.

Pray much for me, because I am very old and worn out, though my desires are vigorous. I will give the sisters your kind messages. I wish your Reverence would come here with the Prior of Mancera.[5] I assure you that I think you will be wasting time where you are, for it will not be the season for sermons.

What a disturbance those other nuns are making about the hundred *reales!* Was I not right in saying that it was necessary to be very cautious in making Visitations? Another superior comes later on and it is most important to give him no cause for complaint. I am very angry, for the sister could perfectly well have given you the money, as she has control over such affairs and she is not in much need of it.

It matters little about Fray Antonio;[6] but however slightly he may blame me, if it reflects upon my Paul I cannot endure it, though I care nothing for what he says of me.

May God protect you, my Father! It is a great

[5] Fray Juan de Jesus (Roca).

[6] Fray Antonio showed a growing jealousy of St. Teresa's affection for 'Paul' (Father Gracian).

grace for me that, as these fathers say, you should be growing stout in spite of all your work. May He be for ever praised! Doña Yomar was highly delighted with your letter: she is well.

This is the fourteenth of May, and I am your Paternity's true daughter,

Teresa de Jesus.

Fortunately for me, this long letter to you has not harmed me so much as the one which I wrote to Malagon: on the contrary, it has done me good. As for the foundation at Villanueva, it is not to be thought of if the Franciscans oppose it. The place suits them, but they would have taught our sisters to beg. Your Paternity is right: small towns are terrible for us. A foundation at Madrid is what we require and there is a good opportunity of starting it at once. Believe me, it is an important matter, as also that we should make Roque de Huerta a present.

CCXXXI

Avila, May 22, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Esperanza. Father Mariano and the Jesuits. Imprisonment of St. John of the Cross. Journey of the Discalced friars to Rome. College at Salamanca. That no extra burdens should be laid upon the nuns.

Jesus be with your Paternity.

AS the father who is to take you this letter is about to start, I cannot write much. I am very sorry that I was not told last night of his departure.

I am in better health and my arm is recovering. I was astonished at hearing that, in his interview with you, the 'cat'[2] had spoken so strongly against Esperanza.[3] God forgive him, for if Esperanza had been as bad as they declared, they would certainly not have striven so strenuously to keep him. I am very glad you did not forward the letter to Seville,[4] as I think it would be better to behave towards them with the deepest humility, for we owe much to them in the past and a great deal to many of them still. As far as I have seen, this father is wanting in prudence, so I hope you will not have much to do with him.

[1] Fuente 199. The original letter was in the convent of Jeronymite nuns, Espeja.

[2] Former editions gave *Cato* or *Caton*, but the MS. at the National Library, Madrid, gives the correct word *gato*, cat. See letter of March 2, 1578. (P. Grégoire.)

[3] Evidently 'Esperanza' here stands for Father Gaspar de Salazar who wished to leave the Jesuits and become a Discalced Carmelite.

[4] See Letter of February 16, 1578.

I have heard from Toledo that they are exceedingly displeased with me there. Yet the truth is that I have done all I could for them and even more than was just. Apparently their ground for complaint against your Paternity and myself is that we have taken such pains not to annoy them. I believe that, had they looked only to God and tried solely to serve Him as so good a project required, they would be at peace and better pleased, for God would have smoothed the way. When we act from human respect, we always fail to attain our object, as we see in this case. Any one might have supposed our plan was heresy, as I remarked to one of these fathers. They are hurt because the matter became public. Certainly, my Father, both they and we have been influenced by very mundane motives in this matter. On the whole, I am glad that things have resulted as they have; I hope our Lord will be satisfied.

I have already told you how anxious the fathers of the Society are that Father Mariano[5] should call and examine their spring of water. For some time past they have been asking him to do so and he has answered that he will be passing through Avila during this month. However, I beg your Paternity to write telling him on no account to omit visiting them: do not forget this.

I am astounded at the conjuring trick they have played with Fray John of the Cross and at the

[5] Fray Mariano was a most skilful engineer. By the king's appointment, he had rendered the Guadalquiver navigable from Seville to Cordova and had planned a system of canals by which the Tagus might water the adjoining fields.

way our business has come to a stand-still. May God rectify it! We hear from Toledo that Tostado has already left, but I do not believe it. He is reported to have made Fray Angel[6] his delegate. I do not know what to think about your Paternity's not coming to Avila. I see that you have good reason for it, yet time is passing without our sending to Rome, and we are losing all by depending on hopes which will not be fulfilled for the next thousand years. I cannot understand it, nor do I know why Nicolao[7] does not go there, for it would not impede the other plans.

I realize that your Paternity is more solicitous than any one else in the affair; still, to perform our duty to the Father-General could do no possible harm, and this is the right moment for it. Unless this is done, I believe that nothing else will be of lasting good. Harm never comes of having several strings to one's bow.[8]

It is an excellent idea to call that college 'St. Joseph's.' May God reward your Paternity for that and for your part in its establishment, which would be of great advantage to the Order.[9] Your decision about Toledo is quite right, for the nun is very narrow-minded, and the prioress must be extremely silly to tell your Paternity that if you wish they can go to law about the case, as it concerns the convent and a large sum of money.

[6] Fray Angel de Salazar. Tostado had gone to Portugal.

[7] Fray Nicolao Doria, who being an Italian was specially suited for the commission.

[8] *Las diligencias nunca son malas por ser muchas.*

[9] The Discalced college at Salamanca for which Father Gracian was striving to obtain permission.

Doña Yomar is delighted with your letters to her as I am with mine, at which I am not surprised.

That father feels the difference which no doubt is made at Guadalajara between him and Paul.[10] The two persons are very different. The father is overcome by natural feeling; I wish your Paternity would overcome yours by being kind to him. I think he speaks rather impulsively, but it is a great thing to be able to bear with every one's weakness. May God give us the strength we need in order to please Him. Amen.

I do not know what answer to give your Paternity about those nuns.[11] Four hundred ducats for twenty! I should not like to accept six hundred. We must wait and see what Doña Maria de Mendoza decides about it; she is sure to manage matters well. I dislike the question of incomes extremely.

We were all shocked at what Mother Antonia[12] told us about the new regulations laid down by Father N... I have written to him to inquire about it. Believe me, my Father, our communities are going on well and there is no need to cumber the nuns by more rules. Whatever was added would be burdensome: let your Paternity not forget that, for charity's sake. Always insist on the sisters' obeying the Constitutions and no more; they will do much if they do that. You may rely on me as

[10] A preacher from Pastrana who was to take the place of Father Gracian.

[11] The community of Valladolid.

[12] Antonia del Espiritu Santo, one of the first four Carmelite novices of the Reform, who had returned from Valladolid to Avila a few days before: the priest was probably Fray Antonio de Jesus (Heredia.)

regards whatever relates to the nuns, for I can judge of that community by this one. Trifling as it might be, any addition would be oppressive and I should be the first to feel it unless it were imposed by your Paternity in God's name. May He preserve you to us for many years.

To-day is May 22.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXXII

Avila, about June, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GONZALO DAVILA, S.J. THE SAINT'S CONFESSOR

How to be recollected while leading a busy life.

Jesus be with your Reverence.

IT is a long while since anything has mortified me so much as the letter I received from you to-day, for I am not humble enough to wish to pass for one so proud, nor ought your Reverence to prove your humility at such a dear cost to me. Never did I so long to tear up any letter of yours! I assure you that you know how to mortify me, and to show me what I really am by appearing to think I believe myself capable of teaching others. God deliver me from such an idea: I do not like to remember it. I know that the fault is mine, though perhaps I care less about that than for seeing your Reverence truly devout. This weakness and my love for you may be the cause of all the

[1] Fuente 222. Vol. III, No. 21, first edition.

foolish things I say to you, and may make me speak freely without considering my words. Sometimes I feel scrupulous afterwards about what I have said, and did I not feel a scruple about being disobedient, I should not comply with your request, such repugnance do I feel at doing so. May God accept it. Amen.

As one of my great faults is to judge others by myself in the matter of prayer, your Reverence must pay no attention to what I say, for God has given very different abilities to you from those He has bestowed on a foolish, insignificant woman like myself.

Considering the grace our Lord has granted me by enabling me to realize His actual presence, and yet that much business must pass through my hands on account of my office, I feel that neither persecutions nor trials harass me so greatly as these affairs. When the matter is one that can be done at once, I sometimes, indeed generally, work until one or two o'clock in the morning or even later, in order that my soul may not be forced to attend to anything but Him Who dwells within it. As this has seriously injured my health, I think it must be a temptation, though it seems to leave my soul at greater liberty. I am like a person with a very urgent, important affair to attend to, who, to keep his mind free for it, finishes his other work quickly: therefore I am glad when I can hand over any business to the nuns, though perhaps I might have done it better myself. But as there is a good reason for it, His Majesty supplies what is wanting,

and I find that my soul makes notably better progress if I withdraw it from earthly things. Though I see this clearly, I am often careless about it, by which I feel that I undoubtedly lose when I should have gained, had I taken greater pains.

This does not refer to serious matters which cannot be neglected, and I must be mistaken in applying it to your Reverence, for your duties are grave ones and I believe it would be wrong to depute them to other people. Yet when I see that your health suffers, I wish you had less work. Indeed, I thank our Lord for the manner in which you take to heart all that affects the welfare of your house, for I am not too foolish to understand that your talent for business is a great grace from God and acquires much merit for you. It makes me very envious, for I wish my superior possessed the same ability. Now that God has given you to me as my soul's superior, I hope you will take as much pains with it as with your spring of water[2] (which greatly amuses me). But water is so necessary in a religious house that all your labours are spent in a good cause.

There is nothing left to say: I speak as openly to you as I should to God Himself. I believe that the efforts made by superiors to discharge their duties are so pleasing to Him that He gives them in a short time what He would otherwise only have granted by slow degrees. This, as well as what I said before, has been taught me by experience. However, as I know that your Reverence is

[2] The conduit and spring about which Fray Mariano was to give advice.

usually overwhelmed with affairs, the idea occurred to me of saying what I did. On reflection, I realize that your circumstances differ from mine. In future I will cure myself of the habit of speaking on impulse, seeing how dear it costs me. The temptation will cease when your health returns. May God restore it as He can and as I desire.

The servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXXIII

Avila, June 4, 1578[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, PRIORESS OF SEVILLE.

Thanks for presents. Community affairs. An insane nun.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my daughter.

I HAVE received two letters from you—one *via* Madrid; the other came this week by the muleteer. But you delay so long in writing that I lose my temper. Everything you sent arrived safely and in good condition. So did the orange-flower water which is excellent, but we do not want more now: this is enough. I was delighted with the pretty little jugs: we do not require any others. As my health is better, I do not need so many comforts, for I must be mortified some day. My arm is recovering though I cannot dress myself yet:

[1] Fuente 200. The original letter is at Valladolid.

they say it will be well when the weather grows warmer. The box and the rest of the things were excellent. Do not fancy that I eat all the sweets you send; in fact I do not like such things. But as long as I live I shall never lose my liking for making presents, and as we are always in difficulties and every one is not so eager to help us as my Father the Prior of las Cuevas and Father Garci Alvarez, all those little gifts are needed.

The explanations about the small stove[2] were so clear that I think mistakes will be impossible. It is now being made. Every one is astonished at your ingenuity; the sisters thank you very much indeed, as I do, for your efforts to please me in every way show how fond you are of me. I am confident of it, and can tell you that you owe me even more affection, for I am surprised at my love for you. You need not imagine that I prefer any one else, for some do not suit my character. The misfortune is that, though I pray much for you, my wickedness prevents my being much help.

I regret to hear that you are suffering with your heart. It is very trying but I am not surprised at it, considering how many trials you have had to bear alone. Even though the Master gives us virtue and courage to endure them, yet nature suffers. But one thing should cheer you: your soul has made very great progress. Do not fancy that I say this to console you, but because I perceive the fact, and this progress, my daughter, is never made without costing us dear.

I am deeply pained at what you tell me as it must

[2] The stove mentioned in the letter of April 15.

be very disturbing for every one. It is a great thing that the sister[3] has improved slightly; I hope our Lord will cure her, for many such cases recover. Her submission to treatment is satisfactory. God will restore her; perhaps He means to give you this cross only for a short time and will draw much good from it, as I heartily beg of Him.

Attend to what I am about to say. You are to see as little as possible of the sister, for such things so injure the heart that it might do you much harm. I enjoin this under obedience. Choose two of the bravest of the nuns to take charge of her and the rest need see little of her. The sisters must not feel unhappy nor more sorry for her than if she were suffering from any other illness. In one way she deserves less pity, for the insane do not feel their malady as they would any other disorder. We were reading, the other day, about the convent of our Order in which St. Euphrasia lived. Among the community was a nun afflicted in the same way as this sister; she would obey no one but the Saint, who finally cured her. Perhaps there may be some one in your house of whom the sister stands in awe. Unless we were tried by ill health in our convents, they would be like heaven on earth, and we should gain no merit. Perhaps the nun would leave off screaming if she were slapped: it would do her no harm. You are right in keeping her shut up. I have been wondering whether she suffered from an excess of blood, which, I believe, causes pains in the shoulders. May God cure her! You must know that, though such things are regrettable, I

[3] One of the nuns at Seville had gone out of her mind.

do not feel as sorry as though I saw imperfections or discontent in the community, and since there is nothing of the kind, bodily ills do not trouble me much.

You know that those who are to enjoy the companionship of the Crucified must bear the cross, and we need not ask for it, (though my Father, Fray Gregorio, thinks that we ought,) for those whom His Majesty loves, He treats as He treated His Son.

I wrote to my Father, the Prior of las Cuevas, a few days ago. Remember me very kindly to him and read the enclosed letter from me to Father Garci Alvarez: give it to him if you think well. On account of my head, which suffers from continual noises, (although it is a little better) I rarely write to either of them, much as I like them: you must always give them kind messages from me.

I was glad our Father ordered that the two nuns so much given to prayer should eat meat. You must know, my daughter, that I am distressed about them, for if they had been near me, they would not have undergone so many extraordinary experiences. The number of these experiences makes me doubtful of them, and though some may be genuine, I am certain that it is safest to pay little attention to them. Neither your Reverence nor our Father should make much account of them, but should depreciate them, for when they are genuine, nothing will be lost in this way. When I say 'depreciate them,' I mean you should say that God leads souls by different ways and that

this is not the way of the greatest sanctity, which is the truth.

I am pleased with Father Acosta's[4] account and that he has so high an opinion of the sister. I do not wish her to tell him many of the prophecies lest it should destroy his good impression if they are not fulfilled, as happened to me in her case. I do not mean that I lost my belief altogether, for I know well that when many such things may have been revealed by God, there may be others which are merely imagination. I forget the date at which the event foretold by the other nun was to take place; let me know whether her prophecy comes true or not, for letters arrive safely by this courier. It has just occurred to me that I had better not write to Father Garci Alvarez until you have informed me as to whether he knows about the matter so that I can speak to the point. Give him my very kind regards and say that I was delighted with his letter which I will answer.

Be very cautious about the two postulants who wish to enter. It is a strong point that Father Nicolao should be satisfied with them. God willing, our Father will go there in September or even earlier, as you know he has been requested to do,[5] and you must act as he decrees. I feel very anxious

[4] A saintly Jesuit at Seville.

[5] To Seville. This order had been given by Pazos, President of the Royal Council. (See letter of August 10, 1578.) He had consulted the Holy See on the matter and had received the reply that the Nuncio had no power to interfere with the religious of Spain unless requested to do so by the king. Sega was furious with Father Gracian about it, declaring that the latter had impeded his jurisdiction. He was also very irate on account of the calumnies and processes brought by the Mitigated against Father Gracian, as well as because of the memorials presented by the latter to Philip, stating the great harm that would

about his being with those people: prayers are greatly needed for him.

All the nuns send kind messages. Oh, how Teresa jumped for joy when she got your present! It is wonderful how fond she is of you. I believe she would leave her father to go with you. As she grows older, she improves in character, and is very sensible. She already receives Holy Communion and with no little devotion.

My head is getting tired, so I will say no more except to wish that God may have you in His keeping as I beg of Him. Remember me kindly to all the nuns and to the Portuguese and her mother. Try to forget your troubles, and let me know how the pain in your heart is. The orange flower water is excellent. My heart has been better during the last few days, for after all the Master does not wish me to have so many trials at once.

To-day is June 4.

Please attend to the favour or rather the *request* I make of you in the enclosed paper. For the love of God be most careful in the matter which is a service asked of me by some one to whom I am under the greatest obligation. I told him that if your Reverence could not succeed, no one could, for you are both clever and lucky in everything you undertake. You must take great pains about it, which will please me extremely.

result to the religious Orders of Spain if the Nuncios issued Briefs in contradiction to the commands of their superiors. These memorials had been handed by Philip to persons who had shown them to Sega. The Nuncio's indignation was so great when the decree came from the Pope, that he declared he would return to Rome unless Father Gracian were burned alive for having impeded his jurisdiction. (*Peregrin.*, Dial. ii, 39-41.)

Perhaps Father Prior of las Cuevas may be of some help, but I rely chiefly upon Father Garci Alvarez. It seems a difficult task, but with God's favour, everything is easy. It would be a real consolation to me if the matter were carried out: indeed, I believe it would render great service to our Lord as it is for the good of souls and can harm no one. What is wanted is a complete set of sermons by Father Salucio of the Order of St. Dominic. Get the best copy that can be had. If you cannot obtain them all, purchase as many as possible of the best he preached. A year's sermons comprise those for Lent, Advent, our Lord's feasts, our Lady's and the Saints' commemorated during the year, the Sundays from the Epiphany until Lent, and from Pentecost until Advent. As this is a private commission, it must not be mentioned unnecessarily to any one. God give you good fortune in the matter. If you send them, let them go by this messenger and pay him well. As long as I am here, address your letters to St. Joseph's, which is better than directing them to my brother, even when they are written to him, as he may be away from home. In short, if you cannot collect all the sermons, get as many as possible.

It is a great comfort that Father Garci Alvarez and Father Gregorio speak so well of your Reverence and your daughters, though, being your confessors, the reverse was to be expected. God grant they are telling the truth!

The servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXXXIV

Avila, July 28, 1578[1]

TO FRAY DOMINGO BAÑEZ, VALLADOLID

The Saint advises him not to visit Avila. Unjust imprisonment of the Licentiate Padilla.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with you, my Father.

I RECEIVED a letter from you full of your usual kindness and charity, of which you show me so much that all I can do is to beg God to repay you for it and the rest of your good deeds.

As regards your visit to Avila, I assure you that I should be so grieved at what you would suffer from your travelling companion and at the injury this place does to your health, that, unless you were coming to help me in my desperate need, I should beg you not to spend your holidays here at so dear a cost to yourself. Thank God, I am in no need of your aid, and my many occupations and trials would prevent my having the comfort in your society that I should like. I therefore beg you not to visit Avila but to find some more pleasant spot in which to take the holiday you must greatly need after working hard all the year. Besides, if the Father Visitor should happen to come while you were here, I should enjoy little of your company.

Believe me, my Father, I am well aware that

[1] Fuente 201. The name of the addressee is missing; the letter seems to have been written to Fray Domingo Bañez. The autograph belonged to the Bishop of Orduña.

the Master chooses for me in this life cross upon cross. The worst of it is that He gives a part in them to all who wish me well, by which I know He means to make me suffer. May He be for ever praised!

I am deeply grieved at Father Padilla's misfortune, for I believe he serves God sincerely. May God make the truth manifest, for many enemies mean many trials, and we are all liable to the same fate. But it is a small thing to forfeit life and honour for love of so good a Master.

Will your Reverence pray much for us, as I assure you that our affairs are in a state of chaos. My health is fairly good: though my arm hurts me so much that I cannot dress myself, still it is improving and I wish I were improving in love for God.

May His Majesty have your Reverence in His keeping and make you as holy as I ask of Him. Amen.

To-day is July 28.

The unworthy servant and true daughter of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus.

Your servants the nuns of Avila beg earnestly for your prayers. Do not allow the prioress to leave off eating meat, and make her take care of her health.

CCXXXV

Prefatory note.

On July 23, 1578, the Nuncio Sega revoked and annulled all patents, authority and powers formerly granted to Gracian by the Nuncio Ormaneto, ordering that by a certain date Gracian should deliver to him all books, documents, processes, seals, and other properties belonging to his office. (This command was obeyed.) Gracian was blamed because, after having been prohibited, he had continued his Visitation. All were forbidden to render obedience either to him or to any other superior appointed by Ormaneto. (*Acta Cap. Gen.* Vol. 1, page 560).

Avila, the beginning of August, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Encouragement and sympathy.

MAY the Holy Ghost be with your Paternity, my Father, and give you strength to endure this combat, for in our days God permits the world and the devils to assail few persons with such fury. Blessed be His name Who has decreed that you should gain such merits in so just a cause. I assure you that, but for our natural affection, reason would show us clearly what strong motives we have for joy. I am relieved at hearing you do not consider that you were excommunicated, though I never believed you had incurred that penalty...

[1] Fuente 202. The beginning and end of this letter are missing. It was published as No. 19 of Vol. VI, first edition.

CCXXXVI

Avila, August, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

The Saint reproaches him for not answering her letters.

. . . May God protect your Paternity and permit me to see you at rest some day, if only to recruit your strength in order to suffer more! All the nuns beg earnestly for your prayers. God grant you may answer all my questions, for you have become very like a native of Biscay![2] I know there have been reasons, but since it causes me such suffering nothing should have prevented your writing. . . .

CCXXXVII

Avila, August 8, 1578[1]

TO DOÑA JUANA DE AHUMADA, THE SAINT'S SISTER AT ALBA DE TORMES

The Reform is transferred to the authority of the Nuncio.

Jesus, Mary be with you!

GOD sends us all trials both here and at Alba. May He be for ever praised! You need feel

[1] Fuente 203. Another fragment of a letter. In one of the depositions for St. Teresa's canonization it is stated that she wrote to Father Gratian every day while the persecutions were severe. This fragment was No. 20 of Vol. VI, first edition.

[2] The natives of Biscay could not talk much as they knew little Spanish.

[1] Fuente 207. The autograph is at the Discalced Priory, Alba de Tormes.

no anxiety about Gonzalo's going away with little Lorencico:[2] my brother would not consent, nor does he think it suitable. I did not write to him, as the lad who brought the letter had left when it was delivered to me. Now I am praying for all of you.

You must know that our affairs have suddenly become as serious as they could be, for a counter-brief has been obtained which subjects us all to the Nuncio. I am not sorry for it as perhaps it may be the best means of obtaining our erection as a separate province; also because Father Gracian will no longer be among these people.

I am so hurried that I do not know what I am saying; I am now sending advice on certain subjects to the convents at Alba and Salamanca, therefore I will only ask you to pray for me.

I am not more of an invalid than usual, as crosses are health and medicine to me. Remember me very kindly to Señor Juan de Ovalle and Doña Beatriz. The sisters here send you kind messages. My brothers are well; they do not know that Pedro[3] is going to Alba.

This is August 8, and I am yours,

Teresa de Jesus.

[2] The sons of Juana and Lorenzo. There was a question of their going to the West Indies together.

[3] Pedro, the messenger, accompanied St. Teresa on several of her journeys. On one occasion, when he began a low song, she said: 'Don't sing that, Pedro, for you will be a friar one day.' It was far from his thoughts then, but at the age of seventy-one he joined the Discalced and lived as a holy friar until the age of eighty-nine.

CCXXXVIII

Prefatory note.

Father Gracian was at Valladolid, engaged on making his Visitation by order of the king, when the Nuncio's agents arrived there to notify the counter-brief to him. Being warned that an attempt was to be made to seize him, Father Gracian hid himself in the Bishop's house. The messengers went to St. Alejo's Priory and tried to break open the doors, but were prevented by a band of armed citizens. The Nuncio's notary, seeing two friars escaping over the wall, ran after them as far as the Bishop's palace, thinking that one of them was Father Gracian. The lawyer read the Brief aloud outside the door and returned to Madrid, where he told Sega that he had accomplished his commission. Father Gracian left for Madrid, calling on S. Teresa, at Avila, on the way.

Avila, August 8 and 9, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, VALLADOLID

The Nuncio head of the Reform. Presentation of his Brief at Avila. Benefits of trials.

Jesus be with your Paternity, my Father

I WROTE to you yesterday *via* Mancera and sent the letter to the Subprior, asking him to inquire whether you were at Peñeranda as you expected to be. I begged him to let no one else know, even the friars. I also enclosed two letters from Roque in which he lays much stress upon your going at once to Madrid. Though he says he has written directly to you on the subject, I tell you because I am afraid that letters are intercepted.

[1] Fuente, 204. The autograph belongs to Don Crispo. (Fr. Ant.) Vol. v, No. 19, in the first edition.

In case you should not have gone to the place you mentioned, I am despatching a messenger to Valladolid, advising the Mother Prioress how to answer, for Roque insists upon our replies being identical, otherwise our cause would be lost. He sent me a copy of what he wished said, which I am forwarding to her. I have told the other communities the precaution may not be necessary.

It is very sad to see these souls in the hands of one who does not understand them. However, my anxiety and trouble are solely on Paul's account. If only I could see him at liberty! I do not know why, but even if I try, I cannot feel the same about the rest. God will watch over you, and if you are cautious there, I shall be content, as long as you do not go to that other place.

I am greatly alarmed, for there cannot but be danger in your going to and fro to say Mass. I am astounded at what is happening and heartily wish you would leave where you are and go to some place where we should be sure you were safe. For charity's sake, let me know your address, so that I may not be as completely at a loss when I want to tell you anything as I am at the ciphers, which you change without explaining them. I should be very glad if you had a companion, were he only a lay-brother.

The prior of Santo Tomas[2] came to see me yesterday. He thinks that it would not be a bad plan if you waited for an answer from Joanes[3] and deferred your visit to court until the business was

[2] The Dominican Priory at Avila.
[3] The Licentiate Juan de Padilla.

settled. The Rector,[4] and even my brother, were of the same opinion after I had told them of your letter to Joanes. Since your Briefs are to be delivered to the President, I do not know why they should press you to start at once. I wish you to go solely for two reasons: one is my terror lest they should seize your person at Valladolid, and it would be better to leave than that this should happen, (from which may God deliver you!) The other reason is that we should see how the Nuncio treated you before your interview with the king. In any case, the presence of His Majesty would be expedient.

This was written yesterday. It will prove to you that I believe that God will give you light by which to act in this affair, as he gives you peace in bearing it, for I have witnessed His intercourse with you.[5] The state of the matter is that last Sunday, the third instant, a Brief was notified to Father Mariano which, as far as I understand, was the same that was taken to Valladolid, but Roque gave me few details. According to him, the Brief is very long, and revokes the decrees of the last Nuncio. It must be the one mentioned by your Paternity, but little is known about it. No doubt it was written by the Pope and published by the Nuncio, as Fray Mariano declares in his answer that he submits to his Lordship's commands.

[4] The Rector of the Jesuits. This concerns the Briefs, powers, etc. given by the late Nuncio and the Pope to Father Gracian which were now to be delivered up to Pazos, President of the Council of Castile.

[5] While St. Teresa was praying she saw a vision of our Lord consoling Father Gracian.

The Brief is said to ordain that the friars should no longer consider your Paternity as their superior, but should obey the Nuncio, and no one else. I was glad of this; perhaps the Nuncio will not give those fathers as much authority as they expect, for he will wish to gratify the king. I believe, as you say, that they long to have done with reforms: there is no doubt about that, nor would anything please me better than to see your Paternity set free. All will come right later on.

No notifications have been made either here or at Mancera. As the Provincial of the Calced has not left Avila, they must be awaiting something. Roque says that the Brief is to be notified in all the houses but does not state whether that means the friars or no.

I have written asking the Prioress of Alba to keep the sister, and to Teresa Laiz[6] asking her consent. It is such a consolation to me that God gives you the grace to find some comfort among your trials that I do not know how I could feel sad.

I had reached this point in my letter when the Reverend Father Rioja arrived at the door with a lawyer to notify the Brief. They asked for the Mother Prioress, not for me, and as far as I can learn, it is the same Brief that was sent to Valladolid, which is said to be in the hands of the Royal Council. God forgive me! I could never have believed that the Nuncio would have given such an order—I mean, could have expressed himself in such a manner. Had you not followed the advice of so

[6] Foundress of the convent at Alba.

many learned men, I should not be surprised at your Paternity's feeling it keenly, but as you have always acted uprightly, and you suspended your Visitations for a year until you knew that the Nuncio had affirmed that he had never withdrawn your commission, I do not know how such things can be alleged now. Though I am exceedingly pained, yet, on the other hand, I am deeply touched, knowing how circumspectly you acted, yet with what infamies you are loaded. I assure you, my Father, that God loves you greatly and that you imitate Him closely. Rejoice that He gives you the crosses you ask of Him for He will defend you because He is just. May He be blessed for all things.

Oh, what rich treasures these sufferings are, my Father! No money could equal them in value, since they purchase you so rich a crown. Remembering that our Lord Himself and all the Saints travelled by this way, I cannot but envy your Paternity, for I am not found worthy of suffering myself now, except by witnessing the pain of one I love dearly—and that is far keener anguish.

Tomorrow we shall arrange together how to send Father Julian de Avila to Madrid at once to recognize the Nuncio as our superior, to make friendly terms with him and beg him not to deliver us over to the Calced. When Father Julian returns, I shall write to several persons, asking them to propitiate the Nuncio on your Paternity's account. I intend to state the facts and to explain how long you refrained from using your commission

until you learnt what he himself had declared. I shall add that you always obeyed him willingly until you discovered that Tostado had interfered in order to destroy the Reform. I can assure the Nuncio truthfully that I am pleased with his action, for anything is better than our subjection to those 'of the cloth.'

Father Julian de Avila must ask for what is required in our houses, such as leave for workmen to enter, and other matters of the kind, as I am told that the Nuncio becomes our superior directly we render him obedience. May God protect us all for no one can force us to offend Him. In any case, I shall still have St. Paul and nobody can withdraw me from the obedience I promised to that saint.[7]

The Brief has pained the sisters more than anything on account of its aspersions regarding your Paternity. The nuns commend themselves earnestly to your prayers and are praying much for you at my request. We need feel no fear, my Father; we should praise God for leading us by the way He walked. May His Majesty protect you for me and grant that I may see you freed from all these contentions.

To-day is the Vigil of St. Lawrence.

The unworthy servant and true daughter of your Paternity,

Teresa de Jesus.

[7] An allusion to St. Teresa's vow of obedience to Father Gracian (Paul). See *Rel.* vi.

CCXXXIX

Prefatory note.

The addressee of this letter is unknown ; it may have been either Roque, or more probably, the Count de Tendilla. Very likely Father Julian took it with him to Madrid. (See last letter.) Yepes says that St. Teresa sent a full and most excellent account of the affairs of the Reform to the king, to be delivered to him by one of the friars of the Order. She also wrote letters to the Nuncio, to Rome, and to several influential persons on the subject, besides a number forming a large volume directed to Roque de Huerta, which Yepes declared he had in his own possession. This and the next letter were possibly addressed to Rubeo, who, as he died on the fourth of the following month, cannot have received them. The closing sentence seems to show that it was sent *via* Madrid.

Avila, about August 10, 1578[1]

TO AN UNKNOWN PERSON

Justification of Father Gracian's conduct. The relative powers of the Visitor and the Nuncio. Theologians, lawyers, and the President of the Royal Council favour Father Gracian.

. . . When the late Nuncio died, we considered it certain that the powers of the Visitor had also expired. However, the theologians and lawyers of Alcala, Madrid, and some of those at Toledo whom we consulted, said this was not the case but that as the Visitation had been begun, in spite of the Nuncio's death it must be completed. Had it not been

[1] Fuente 205. Vol. v. No. 20 of first edition of the *Letters*.

commenced, the powers of the Visitor would have ceased at the death of him who bestowed them. President Covarrubias, in his turn, told Father Gracian to continue his Visitation until it was completed. All were agreed upon this point.

When the present Nuncio arrived in Spain, he at once bade Father Gracian show him his authority and the Acts of all his Visits. The latter wished to retire from his post, but was told that this would annoy the king, who had requested him to make the Visitation. Father Gracian then called on the Archbishop[2] and gave him an account of what had taken place. The latter remonstrated with him, told him that he had the courage of a fly, and that he ought to go to the king and lay the whole matter before him. When Father Gracian objected on account of the Nuncio, the Archbishop replied that every one has the right of appeal to the superior and that this course must be followed.

The king ordered Father Gracian to return to his priory, saying he himself would examine into the matter. Some theologians (including even President Romero) whom I consulted at Avila, declare that, as the Nuncio had not shown the faculties giving him authority in the case, Father Gracian is not bound to discontinue his Visitation, for which opinion they give several reasons.

The Nuncio had not then shown his faculties, nor has he done so yet, unless it has been within the last ten days, though I know for certain that the king requested him to disclose them.

Notwithstanding all these opinions, for about

[2] Don Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo.

nine months[3] Father Gracian did not use his powers even to sign a document, though he was aware that the Nuncio had declared, and even sworn, that he had not forbidden him to continue the Visitation. This can be vouched for by numerous witnesses, also that when asked by a friar to deprive Father Gracian of his commission as Visitor, the Nuncio replied that he had not the power.

At the end of nine months, the actual President of the Royal Council, sent for Father Gracian and told him to resume the Visitation.[4] The latter begged him urgently to withdraw the command, but the President replied that this was impossible, for it was the will of both God and of the king; that he (Pazos) was in his present office against his own wish, adding other reasons of the same kind. Father Gracian asked whether he should go to the Nuncio: this the President forbade, telling our Father to have recourse to himself if necessary. The Council then delivered to Father Gracian several royal mandates authorizing him to apply to the civil power wherever he might be.[5]

It had always been believed, from what the Nuncio himself had said, that he had no authority over the religious Orders, for when the king was displeased at the way in which, without consulting him, he had treated Father Gracian on arriving in

[3] From August or September 1577, until May or June 1578.

[4] In consequence of the decision of the Holy See that the Nuncio was not to interfere with the religious Orders in Spain unless requested to do so by Philip, Pazos gave this direction.

[5] Father Gratian never availed himself of this permission in spite of the attempt made to capture him at Valladolid.

Spain, the Nuncio has done nothing more until now. We therefore suppose that, since then, he must have received some very special powers from the Pope, on account of his present action: though, as far as we know, he has not shown those powers to the Royal Council or to any one else.

Father Gracian felt greatly perplexed, for, if he had had recourse to the Nuncio, instead of obeying the king, we should have lost favour with his Majesty, who is our patron, and who upholds our cause with the Pope, especially as we knew for certain that the Nuncio was endeavouring to appoint as Visitor Tostado, a father 'of the cloth' whom the General chose as his Vicar. Tostado undoubtedly came to Spain with the determination of carrying out the regulations of General Chapter[6] by abolishing all our priories except two or three. No novices were to be received in these houses, and the friars were to be dressed in the same manner as the Calced. Father Gracian accepted the office of Visitor with great reluctance, solely with the object of defending the Reform.

It would be a very delicate matter for him to render up his powers together with the Acts of the Visits relating to the faults of the Calced friars of Andalusia, because much of the information was given him under promise of secrecy. To reveal it would provoke the anger of all, and destroy the reputation of many religious. Nor did Father Gracian know whether the Nuncio was the superior appointed to treat of the affair, since the latter has never shown his authority.

[6] That of Piacenza, held in 1575.

All this is true, and there are other facts which, were they revealed, would prove clearly that the Brief blames Father Gracian unjustly. He has done nothing without the advice of learned men; for, learned as he is himself, he never follows his own judgment. He declares that it is a novelty in Spain that a Nuncio should refuse to disclose his powers, former Nuncios always having shown them.

Will you kindly consider whether it would not be well to have clearly written copies made of this explanation and send them to several persons in Madrid.

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXL

Avila, August, 1578[1]

TO AN UNKNOWN PERSON AT MADRID

A plea for the Reform and for forgiveness for herself from the Father General. She asks that the Discalced may not be governed by the Calced. Arguments in favour of a separate province.

... Indeed, notwithstanding the numerous letters you have written to him[2] and the honour done to him by it, the result has been the opposite of what you wished. He no more writes to our communities nor deals with them than if he were not our

[1] Fuente 206. This letter is incomplete. The autograph belongs to the Discalced nuns of Alcala de Henares. It was probably addressed to the Count de Tendilla.

[2] Most likely Rubeo, the Father General.

superior. Evidently people must have prejudiced him, or he would not have behaved in so marked a manner.

We wish to obtain for our communities from his Most Reverend Paternity three most important concessions for our houses.

Firstly, if possible, he is to be persuaded not to give credence to what has been alleged against Teresa of Jesus, for indeed she has done nothing unbecoming a most obedient daughter. This is absolutely true and nothing can be proved to the contrary. He knows that she would not tell a falsehood for anything in the world, and experience has shown him of what people not personally acquainted with her are capable when carried away by passion. Let him make inquiries, and since he is our shepherd, let him condemn no one unjustly and unheard. But if he will listen to nothing except the accusations made against her, let him punish Teresa and impose a penance on her, leaving her no longer in disgrace, for she would prefer anything to his displeasure.

Fathers forgive their children even for grave offences: how much more should he forgive her who has committed no fault, but has laboured painfully to found convents, thinking to please him, for not only is he her superior, but she bears him the deepest affection. Let him not permit so many handmaids of God, with whom no one finds fault, to remain in disgrace with him but let him hold them as his daughters as he always has done and acknowledge them publicly as such, since they have done nothing to forfeit that right.

Secondly, since the Apostolic Vicar no longer rules over us and we are under his Lordship's jurisdiction, will he nominate superiors to whom we may have recourse for Visitations and our many other needs. But we ask that these superiors should be Discalced Carmelites who keep the Primitive Rule, and that he will not subject us to the friars of the Mitigation. We beg for this both because they lead a life so different that it is impossible for them to understand ours and to correct the sisters' failings, also on account of the ill-success of their government, of which his Lordship is aware. If he wishes, he shall be informed of the complete failure of the last father who filled that office,[3] though he had been chosen as the most suitable by the nuns themselves. Perhaps it may have been no fault of his, but, as I explained, came from lack of experience which does great harm.

Besides this, the two Apostolic Visitors stipulated in the Acts of their Visit, imposed upon us by obedience, that the nuns should be subject to the Father General and to a superior appointed by him, who, on account of the harm that had resulted from a different choice, should be a friar of the Primitive Observance: that is, a Discalced Carmelite.

If his Most Reverend Paternity disapproves of this plan, you might give him to understand (not as coming from the nuns but as your private opinion) that they would prefer placing themselves under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary to being visited and governed by the Calced, for as his

[3] Probably Fray Angel de Salazar, Provincial of the Discalced.

Lordship is so far away, much harm might be done before they could appeal to him, as experience has shown him. This was one reason why we did not oppose the Visitors, which as Reformed religious we had the right to do. However, we do not wish to be in the power of the Mitigated again, having already experienced it.

Until every effort has been made to carry out the first plan, nothing is to be said of the second, which I should regret to accept and should only agree to if we should be ruined otherwise, as the nuns would suffer terrible torment at being withdrawn from obedience to the General. But surely they will meet with some mercy from him, for besides being held in high esteem for their virtue by the king and the highest in the land, they number among them several ladies of rank. They are in no need of money; the convents are built and in flourishing condition, having been founded by the nobles of the kingdom. God grant the time may never come when the nuns may find themselves in such a condition, and separated from the jurisdiction of so good a shepherd.[4] May God forgive whoever sowed these tares! A most important point, towards which, for love of our Lord, I entreat you to direct most strenuous efforts, is that the Discalced should be constituted as a separate province.

Our convents are always under the jurisdiction of the Provincial, but as the nuns converse with

[4] The end of this paragraph from the word 'good a Shepherd' was first published by Père Grégoire, by whose kind permission it is translated from the Spanish.

God only, it would be a great advantage as regards mortification and perfection that, if possible, the direction of our communities should be conferred upon the Father Master, Fray Jeronimo de la Madre de Dios Gracian, as he has visited them for several years. His interior spirit, his discretion, and gentle manners, combined with great perfection and gravity, make it evident that the Virgin has chosen him to help the nuns to make great spiritual progress. They declare that at every visit he renews their fervour and benefits them extremely.[5]

If it could be carried out, this would be the best plan, as all the nuns would agree. Yet the thing seems impossible, for our most Reverend Father General is as displeased with Father Gracian as with Teresa of Jesus: indeed, far more so for the reasons given in the enclosed statement.[6] It was this Father who was made Apostolic Visitor by order of the late Nuncio and the King, and, considering the misdeeds alleged against him, no wonder the Father General is annoyed with him!

Could the above plan be carried out, it would render great service to our Lord, but as this seems impossible, it is necessary to suggest the names of other religious. These are: the Father President, Fray Antonio de Jesus, or Fray John of the Cross, these being the first to become Discalced Carmelite friars, and very faithful servants of God. Should these be unsuitable, let the Father General choose one he prefers, as long as he is neither a friar 'of the

[5] The rest of the autograph is missing. The Spanish is taken from Vol. VI, No. 48 of the first edition of the Letters.

[6] This appears to refer to the preceding memorial.

cloth' nor an Andalusian. Do your best, for, God willing, better terms for us may be arranged later on. It would be a great thing first of all to be delivered from the Calced.

Whoever is nominated must be careful to send the appointed taxes every year to the General as the Visitors should do in order to acknowledge their delegation by him. Should he not do so (but he will, as he is bound), the nuns will pay these taxes. If the Father Master Jerome Gracian were appointed their Visitor, the sisters would gladly pay double and even much more, and consider themselves gainers, so important would be the advantage. This must be repeated to no one except to him who, after the most careful inquiry, is found to be the Most Reverend Father General's chosen confidant. It would be prudent to treat first with this adviser on all the above-mentioned questions, for it is essential, if our plans are to succeed, to gain the good-will both by word and deed of those associated with his Lordship.

In the third place, it would not be desirable that the Father General should set a stricter limit to the powers of our superiors than that appointed to those of other Orders who, when a convent or house is bestowed for nuns, or the superior himself founds one, have power to transfer to it sisters from the older-established communities. Otherwise, it would be difficult to make foundations in his Order. People help the Reform and are glad to see it spread, as was the Most Reverend General of Carmel himself before he was misinformed on the subject. I do not

know what can have been alleged against such religious, who give and who have given so good an example, and who continue to found houses in which they live sincere and devout lives, that he should, as I said, deprive them of what is accorded to all other religious bodies.

At the General Chapter, the Most Reverend Father General forbade under pain of excommunication that any nun (especially Teresa of Jesus) should leave her convent; he also prohibited the superiors' giving such permission. Yet, when a house was ready for a new foundation, she had only gone there with some other nuns to establish the Order, taking possession of it with all possible religious observance, according to the patents given her by the Most Reverend Father General himself. In fact, those who witnessed it were edified, as can be proved if necessary.

CCXLI

Prefatory note.

On August 9, by the king's order, the Royal Council opposed the Nuncio's jurisdiction and issued provisions forbidding the friars of the Reform to obey him, at the same time commanding the governors of towns and cities to intercept the communication of his briefs and mandates. Father Gracian (who was to retain his office of Visitor) received letters of provision entitling him to protection by the magistrates against any measures that Sega might take against him.

Avila, August 14, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

The Saint's anxiety about Father Gracian. Advice as to obtaining a separate province.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with you, my Father.

HAD your Paternity not visited Avila, I should have gained small merit from our trials which caused me little grief, but since then I have paid my whole debt. I assure you that I was so touched by the sight of you that my heart felt broken all day yesterday, (Wednesday), for I could not bear to see you so downcast and with such grave reason, as wherever you go you are in danger and obliged to skulk and hide like a malefactor. Yet never for a moment do I lose confidence in our final success. The fact is, my Father, that God has sought a sure way of making me suffer by willing that the blows should fall where they hurt me more than when aimed at myself.

To-day, the vigil of our Lady's feast, the good Roque sent me a copy of the letters of provision which are a great comfort to us, for as the king thus takes the matter up your Paternity will be free from danger. Your peril was what tormented us, for I know that the sisters are courageous about

[1] Fuente 208. Part of the autograph is kept at Fuencarrel, near Madrid; and the rest is taken from Vol. v, No. 25 of the first edition of the Letters.

all the rest. The Master has not willed that I should suffer long. It is fortunate that your Paternity left here when you did and that you are travelling *via* the Escorial.

You will tell me by the bearer, Pedro, all that has happened and is happening. Let news be sent to Valladolid, as the sisters there are anxious. They sent a messenger here, as they had learnt what had become of Fray Juan de Jesus.[2] At the same time, do not forget to mention whether anything can be done to help Fray John of the Cross,[3] nor to tell me whether it would be well to send some one to the Nuncio to show that the Discalced know something of obedience, since we are put under his authority. We shall consult together here as to our best course and shall follow it, if your Paternity is no longer at Madrid, for such an action cannot impair the justice of our cause, since we have obeyed. I received letters to-day from the convents of Valladolid and Medina; nothing has been notified to them. The Mitigated must have

[2] Fray Juan de Jesus Roca, Prior of Mancera, who went to Madrid to settle some dispute with the Vicar of Valladolid concerning the foundation, presented himself before the Nuncio who would not listen to him but condemned him to confinement for two months in the Priory of the Calced at Madrid.

[3] St. John of the Cross escaped miraculously from his prison on the feast of the Assumption. Our Lady appeared to him and showed him the window from which he was to descend. He let himself down safely by a rope too short and frail for the purpose and was twice miraculously assisted over high walls which he could not climb. He entered the convent of the Discalced nuns at Toledo to give the Sacraments to a sick sister, and hid in the infirmary while the Calced friars searched for him. Canon Mendoza sheltered him in the hospital of the Holy Cross until he was well enough to return to the priory at Almodovar.

learnt what is happening, otherwise I feel sure these brethren of mine would not have been idle.

My Father, I feel rather anxious, for amid all this commotion and in these letters of provision, no other Visitor is mentioned but my Father Gracian. I should not like any edict to be sent from Rome against him, so I think it would be well for your Paternity to remember the light seen by Paul[4] which seemed verified by that seen by Angela[5] and that you should withdraw from this fire as far as possible. But do not vex the king, whatever Father Mariano may say. Your conscience is unsuited to cases about which contrary opinions may be held, for even when there is nothing to fear, you are troubled, as you have been lately. This course would appear right to every one. Let the others settle their disputes among themselves: when all has been arranged and made certain, it will be enough for you to expose yourself to danger without incurring scruples as well. I assure you that my chief anxiety during all this commotion has been the fear implanted in me (I cannot say how) that you will not be relieved from the Visitation. If it is the will of God, He will protect you as He has hitherto, but it would be torture to me.

If you withdraw as I have suggested, you will need all your tact in order to appear to fear nothing but offending God which is the truth. Should your Paternity converse with the Nuncio, justify your-

[4] This happened while Father Gracian was reciting Compline at Toledo in 1577. The trials he was to undergo were also revealed to St. Teresa. *Rel.* ix. 23. (David Lewis).

[5] Here begins the autograph kept at Fuencarral. The beginning of of this paragraph was first published by P. Grégoire.

self in this affair, and explain, if he will listen, that you will always obey him and only delayed submission in the past because you knew that Tostado was bent on destroying our newly established Reform. You might say that he can discover the state of our houses by making inquiries, and other things of the sort.

Your Paternity should strive, in every possible way, to obtain a separate province on whatever conditions the Calced require. On that all depends, even the very existence of the Reform. This must be stated to the king, the president, the archbishop, and all the rest, and they must be made to understand what scandal and contention has resulted from the want of it, especially in Castile, where as there is neither Visitor nor justice to control them, the Mitigated behave as they like. Your Paternity will know better than I how to state the case: it is very foolish of me to write about it, but I mention it lest your other cares should cause you to forget it. I am not sure whether Pedro will take this letter as he cannot get a mule: at all events, the messenger will be trustworthy. For charity's sake, let me know all that is happening, however limited your time may be, and tell me how Father Mariano is.

The nuns here commend themselves earnestly to your prayers. If you witnessed their grief at your trouble, you would be touched, for it is all on my Father's account. I feel sorry for the sisters at Veas and Caravaca: we sent them a messenger and they must be in great distress for they have heard nothing lately. We wrote to them holding out great hopes, except as regards your Paternity,

so that they might pray for you more fervently. Be kind enough to let Roque know if there is any means of communicating with them from Madrid. I forwarded fifty ducats to him yesterday and am sending to-day what will complete the sum of a thousand *reales*.[6]

I should be very sorry if your Paternity were obliged to remain at Madrid, or even where you are, during the warm weather. As these affairs are likely to take a long while to settle, would it not be well for you to come to Mancera? For charity's sake, consider the question, for we should be nearer one another. Let me know what has become of the prisoners taken at Pastrana. Oh, if only another vision would deliver you from the torment into which the other plunged you a few days ago! God grant it, and may He grant me the favour of seeing you in such a position that I may be freed from all my fears. Amen.

To-day is the vigil of our Lady of August. Our joys and sorrows come to us on her feasts as though from her.[7]

The unworthy servant and subject of your Paternity.

Teresa de Jesus.

[6] The autograph clearly shows that the last two clauses refer to Roque, not Father Gracian.

[7] On the feast of the Presentation of our Lady, 1575, St Teresa had been in great distress on account of the danger incurred by Father Gracian when presenting the Brief at the Calced Priory, Seville. Our Lord said to her : "O woman of little faith! be at peace : all is going well." (*Rel.* ix, 27).

CCXLII

Avila, August, 14-15, 1578[1]

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO DON ROQUE DE HUERTA

Caution to be shown about entrusting the affairs of the Reform entirely to the Nuncio.

. . . I believe that you are to speak to-day to the king who arrived at the Escorial yesterday. Let the greatest care be taken that what is entrusted to the Nuncio is made sure of, for I see that many things are treated more as a matter of custom than as a right. This is what must be insisted on as regards the province. . .

. . . brother. I beg your Honour to direct that it should be given into his own hands. . .

[1] Fuente 267. P. Fidel Fita assigns this date to the letter. (Bol. de R. la Acad. de la Historia, LVIII. cuad I.)

CCXLIII

Avila, August 24, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Death of the king of Portugal. The necessity of urging upon the Nuncio and others the establishment of a separate province for the Discalced. The Count de Tendilla. The Jesuits and Father Mariano.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father!

WE were delighted with the letter Pedro brought, so full of bright hopes for the future which seem certain to be realized. May our Lord dispose of matters as tends most to His service! However, until I know that Paul[2] has had an interview with Mathusalen and how it has passed off, I shall not be free from anxiety. If your Paternity should hear of it, have the kindness to write an account of it to me.

I was deeply grieved at the news of the death of such a Catholic king as that of Portugal[3] and angry with those who let him incur such great

[1] Fuente, 209. The first part of the original letter belongs to the Carmelite nuns of Rioseco; the rest is taken from Vol. IV, No. 26, first edition.

[2] 'Paul' stands for Father Gracian; 'Mathusalen' for the Nuncio.

[3] Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, with a number of his subjects, had lost his life on August 4, 1578, on the coast of Africa where they had gone to establish the Christian faith. Ribera says that, more than twenty years before, St. Teresa had seen a vision of an angel holding a naked blood-stained sword over Portugal. While she was weeping over the death of the king and his companions, our Lord said to her: 'Why do you grieve, if I saw that they were ready to come to Me?'

danger. We learn from all parts of the world that there is little safety and no happiness to be found, unless we seek them in suffering.

Your Paternity should make every possible effort, in whatever way you think best, and under any conditions, to obtain a separate province, for though there will be no lack of other trials, it is a great thing to be safely established. If the fathers 'of the cloth' were also to press the matter with the Nuncio (as I believe they would do willingly), it would be a great advantage. Do not cease to endeavour to bring this about, as if the Nuncio sees no opposition, he will listen to us more favourably.

We were delighted at his answer to the Mitigated about their action at Medina and their endeavours to persuade the nuns to obey the Provincial 'of the cloth.'

Valdemoro is Vicar there: as he did not receive sufficient votes to be made Prior, the Provincial named him Vicar in order to assist the house. Since what took place some time ago, he is very angry with the Prioress Alberta. The Calced fathers here tell people that the nuns are to be placed under their jurisdiction, and many other things of the kind. The sisters were half dead with terror of Valdemoro, but I have reassured them.

Let us know when your Paternity thinks it advisable to render some act of homage to the Nuncio, and for charity's sake tell us, as soon as possible, about your interview with him, for I shall be anxious until it is over, though I trust in God that all will succeed in answer to our many prayers. I am very glad that you have found such a pleasant

home: you need some comforts after your trials. I wish the Count de Tendilla would accompany you on your first visit to the Nuncio. Should the latter grant you pardon, you will be completely exculpated from all the slanders brought against you. I feel certain that if some influential person were to plead for Fray John with the Nuncio, were he only entreated to inquire into the father's character and the injustice of his imprisonment, Sega would at once order that he should be sent to one of his own houses.[4] I do not know by what mischance it is that nobody remembers that saint. The Princess of Eboli would intercede for him if Father Mariano stated the case to her.

The fathers of the Society are very anxious that Father Mariano should come to Avila at once, as they are in great need of his help.[5] If, without much inconvenience, he can be spared from Madrid, I beg your Paternity to have the charity to send him here, as these fathers have been asking for him for a long while and are writing to the Nuncio for permission. He would be with you again in five or six days, as a day or a few hours would suffice here. I beg you not to forget this amidst all your other business. It is fortunate that you are able to charge him with this commission, for, though it seems unimportant, the fathers consider his help absolutely indispensable.[6]

I do not know how we can repay Don Diego[7]

[4] The escape of St. John of the Cross was not yet publicly known.

[5] This refers to the water supply for the Jesuits' house at Avila.

[6] Here terminates the part of the letter preserved at Rioseco.

[7] Don Diego Peralta, who was sheltering Father Gracian in his house at Madrid.

in return for his great charity; heaven must recompense him. Give him my kindest greetings and tell him I entreat him not to forsake you until he has found you a safe refuge for I am terrified at all these highway murders. May God in His divine loving-kindness protect your Paternity. I commend myself to the prayers of Doña Juana;[8] remember me kindly to the secretary and the señoras. I sincerely hope we shall not give them such trouble in future.

You must know that the Father General has written to Doña Quiteria, as you will see by the enclosed letter. God forgive those who have told him such falsehoods against us! If His Majesty should grant us the favour of being constituted as a separate province, it would be well to send some of our fathers to him at once, as I believe we should eventually become his favourites. Let us be His Majesty's favourites and then, come what may! May He protect your Paternity for us. Amen.

The bell is ringing for Matins, so I will only say that the prioress and sisters are well and feel much consoled. They and my brother ask your prayers and are pleased with the way our affairs are progressing. My greatest pleasure is that this detestable Visitation, which cost us so dear, is done with, and that your Paternity has no more to do with it as I have long desired. Yet I cannot but fear lest so great a blessing should not last long.

To-day is August 24.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

[8] Father Gracian's mother and his brother Tomas.

CCXLIV

Prefatory note.

This fragment of an unpublished letter must have been part of the large volume of letters from St. Teresa to D. Roque de Huerta, which Yepes says were in his possession. At his death, in 1613, as Bishop of Tarazona, they were nearly all dispersed and lost. A photo of the autograph of this fragment (which is kept at the Franciscan convent de la Concepcion, Madrid), was published by P. Fidel Fita in the Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, January, 1911. He believed that it was written on Aug. 24, 1578, and that the first sheet, now missing, contained an account of the crisis of the Reform which Roque cut off and probably sent to the Count de Tendilla. While Rubeo was alive, St. Teresa would have liked Father Gracian to go to Rome to explain and settle matters with him.

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

Avila, August 24, 1578

Dangers of Father Gracian.

. . . Your Honour must not feel anxious, for our Lord will bring things right when you least expect it. I feel, and I have felt, greater anxiety as to whether our Father has put himself into the hands of the Nuncio; for I would very much rather he cast himself into the hands of God and faced the dangers of the journey to Rome, and that he should be one of those who go there. Perhaps I do not understand what I am talking about.

For charity's sake let me know all that happens at once, as we are greatly concerned about it.

Tell me how Fray Antonio is: I was very sorry about him, for they were heavy blows for one so ill and weak to bear. He is a saint and God treats him accordingly.

The Count's letter was a great comfort to me, for I believe that God has chosen him for our deliverer. I enclose the answer, which is of the utmost importance. If he is at Madrid, will you give it into his hands yourself; if not, send it by a special messenger — but remember that on no account must it be lost.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXLV

Prefatory note.

Sega, who had excommunicated Father Gracian at Valladolid, now sent him an order to show his powers as commissary. The king and the theologians whom he consulted, advised Father Gracian not to comply until Sega had shown his own powers. After a short stay at Madrid, Father Gracian went to the priory at Pastrana. While he was there, the Nuncio's deputies, Augustin Suarez and Coria, came to present the Brief and receive the submission of Father Gracian, Fray Antonio, Mariano, and the community. At first the friars, relying upon the royal provisions, determined to resist, but Father Gracian first consulted a holy lay brother accredited with supernatural discernment who told him that if the Discalced submitted to Sega as the representative of the Holy See, the Pope would grant them a separate province. Father Gracian followed his advice, showing the royal provisions to the Visitors as a proof that his compliance was voluntary, and returned to Madrid. There he gave

his documents to the Royal Council and went to the king. Philip, indignant at his provisions having been set aside, left the Discalced to their fate, telling Father Gracian to call on the Nuncio and learn his wishes. Sega refused to see him until the documents of the Visitation, etc. had been transferred to himself.

If the three friars thought that their submission would have propitiated Sega, they were mistaken. The interview was terrible. After having excommunicated them, he condemned them to prison: Mariano at Atocha; Father Antonio with the Discalced Franciscans, and Father Gracian with the Mitigated at Madrid. The exact date of this affair is unknown, but their custody cannot have lasted very long as the three fathers were free to attend the Chapter of Almadovar by October 9. (See *Peregrinaciones*, Dial. III, p. 47; *Found.* Introd. XLVI, ch. XXVIII, note 9. For the royal provisions, see pref. note to Letter CCXLI.)

Avila, early in August 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, AT MADRID

St. Teresa writes to Sega. Advises Father Gracian as to how to behave to him.

Jesus be with your Paternity.

I VERY much wished to write you a long letter in return for yours, which was downhearted and melancholy throughout, but the letters I enclose had to be sent, and now my head will not allow me to scrawl any more. Will you have the enclosed missive directed to the Nuncio;[2] I have not written the address lest I should make a mistake: let the

[1] Fuente 210. Vol. VI, No. 26, first edition. The original was at the Cistercian Monastery, Poblet.

[2] This letter has been lost.

lady whose handwriting most resembles mine, affix it.

In the first place, this Paul[3] of mine with all his scruples, is very foolish: your Paternity should tell him so. There is nothing to say to your Paternity on the subject. All theologians declare that his conscience can be perfectly clear until the Brief is notified to him, and he would be mistaken in putting himself into the Nuncio's hands before the President has smoothed the way for him.[4] If possible, the latter should be present during the first interview your Paternity has with the Nuncio.

For the love of God do not let your fancy make you prophesy such evils: He will bring things right. I understand now why Joseph said, when Ardapilla went away, that it would be well for our affairs; if he is in such ill favour, there is no doubt of that. It does not matter about those hermits: God brings good to light as well as evil when He chooses. You are under no obligations as to Mass; I have inquired about it and you know it yourself. Try to remain where you are, if it can be kept secret: that is what makes me anxious. If you are melancholy in such a comfortable life, what would you have been had you shared the lot of Fray John?[5]

The money owing to Alonso Ruiz will be paid. If he has not left, tell him that I have about a hundred bushels. The money ought to be paid to

[3] 'Paul' stands for Father Gracian, 'Joseph' for Christ, and 'Ardapilla' for the Licentiate Padilla.

[4] The President of the Royal Council, Don Pazos, soon after made bishop of Avila.

[5] St. John of the Cross.

the Malagon nuns at once; his payment can go with it.

My head prevents my writing more, my good Father. Abide with God, and since you serve such a lady as the Virgin, who prays for you, never allow yourself to grieve, though I see there are reasons for it.

Remember me affectionately to Doña Juana.

Teresa de Jesus.

Let the President be told we are praying earnestly for his health.

CCXLVI

Avila, End of August, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, AT MADRID

Imprisonment and escape of St. John of the Cross at Toledo.

. . . I assure you that the treatment undergone by Fray John of the Cross is ever in my thoughts. I do not know how God can allow such things, for even your Paternity is not aware of all. During the whole of the nine months he was imprisoned in a cell hardly large enough to hold him, small as he is, and for all that time he never changed his tunic, though he was almost dying. Three days before his escape, the superior gave him a tunic of his own, and disciplined him several times severely. Fray John saw no one during his captivity. I envy him intensely. Thank God for giving him courage for such martyrdom!

[1] Fuente 211. Nothing remains of this letter but these two fragments, Vol. vi, No. 44. First edition.

It is well that the facts should be told so that we may be more on our guard against these people. God forgive them! Amen.

. . . . Inquiries ought to be made so that the Nuncio can be informed as to how this saintly Fray John was treated, blameless as he was. It is a lamentable affair. Tell Fray German[2] to do so; he will, for he feels very strongly about it. . . .

CCXLVII

Avila, the middle of September, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Anxiety at St. John of the Cross having been allowed to leave Toledo.

. . . I am deeply pained at the life Fray John of the Cross has led, and that they have permitted him, ill as he was, to start at once for Almadovar. God grant that death may not deprive us of him. As a personal favour to me, will your Paternity see that he is taken care of there and not allowed to leave. Be sure not to forget this. I assure you that you would have few such religious left if he were to die. . .

[2] Fray German, St. John's fellow chaplain who was taken prisoner by the Calced.

[1] Fuente, 212. This may possibly be part of the preceding letter. Vol. v, No. 47, first edition.

CCXLVIII

Avila, September 29, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Project of sending to Rome to obtain a separate province and protector. Father Antonio continues the Visitation. Disappearance of Fray Juan de la Miseria. Father Paul Hernandez.

. . . If *all* were done it would be a great thing: if both friars could not go, one should do so, but it would be better to send two. They are much liked by the Society (of Jesus) which would be no small advantage in the negotiations.[2] In any case, will your Paternity write to me at once, and for charity's sake let us not confine ourselves to hopes any longer. Every one is surprised at our having no one to negotiate for us in Rome, so that the Calced can do as they like. Let those who go, take a petition begging that the Discalced may have a protector there.

There is need for us to act without delay, for our time is very limited, as your Paternity is aware. Being in Madrid, you can inform me whether it is too late, for however we hastened matters I think we should need the whole of October. I laugh at myself for planning as though there were friars at hand and funds for their journey. But if we do not make a beginning, it will never be done:

[1] Fuente 213. The first part of the letter is missing. The Carmelite nuns of Rioseco have the original.

[2] St. Teresa did not know that Rubeo had died on the fourth of this month.

we ought to have begun to prepare directly we submitted to the Brief.

Fray Antonio complains terribly, and with good reason, that we have told him nothing.[3] I am surprised at Roque, considering the number of messengers who travel between Madrid and Granada. I told Roque that your Paternity would give notice to Fray Antonio who, as he knew nothing of what had passed, used his powers with less scruple. I do not know what I have done with his letter; if I find it, I will send it to your Paternity.

I must own that I was grieved at learning how lawless some of your Discalced friars are: I refer to the one who went away with Fray Baltasar;[4] the Calced jailors were more grateful. God grant he may obtain no followers when he is set at liberty; but it is better that he should be with the Calced.

I fear lest those 'of the cloth' may have seized on Fray Juan de la Miseria[5] as he has never appeared since they say they last saw him. May God bring

[3] Fray Antonio de Jesus (Heredia) had been making a Visitation in Andalusia as delegate of Father Gracian who had omitted telling him that Sega had withdrawn his powers. Perhaps Roque de Huerta had forgotten to give Fray Antonio Father Gracian's message.

[4] This alludes to a friar who left the Mitigation for the Reform and afterwards returned to the Calced.

[5] Fray Antonio says in his notes that Juan de la Miseria, who was at Valladolid when the Nuncio's Visitors arrived, fled in terror to Rome, where he consulted St. Philip Neri, who advised him to suffer and obey. He died at Madrid over a hundred years old with a reputation for sanctity. (*Found.* ch. xvii, 5, note.) *Les Œuvres* states that, while in Rome he left the Carmelite Order and returned to the Franciscans. Later on, he wished to rejoin the Discalced Carmelites but was refused by the superiors and it was only through the intervention of St. Teresa from heaven and by means of another Brief from the Holy See that he rejoined the Reform.

all things right, and may He preserve your Paternity to us as I and your daughters beg of Him. Amen. My health is fairly good. The Prioress of Salamanca writes telling me that she has informed you of the reception of the novice.

To-day is the feast of St. Michael.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

Will you read what you think fitting of this letter to Father Mariano. Remember me kindly to him and Fray Bartolomé, also answer me promptly about the journey to Rome. You must know that a father of the Society, a great friend of mine, is at Madrid. They say he went there on account of the President; perhaps they may have been fellow-citizens. If it would benefit us, I would write to him: his name is Pablo Hernandez.

This letter was entrusted to a carter and returned to me as he was taken ill on the road and brought back to Avila. I have opened it to see what I had written. I think it would be well for you to read it, though you may find it tiring.

CCXLIX

Probably July, 1578

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO FATHER GRACIAN

Distress on account of Father Gracian's sufferings.

. . . The Discalced friars having . . . they owe to them. All in this house commend themselves earnestly to you. I am not astonished at the sanctity people say you possess: I should be astonished if you did not, considering the prayers that are offered for you by such good people as I believe your daughters are. But what troubles our Lord has sent us with these changes of superiors and the fears I feel! I assure you that . . . all is wearisome and the other would have been rest. Blessed be God, Who is pleased that our life should be so spent. The life your Paternity leads me is very painful:

[1] This fragment of a letter in St. Teresa's handwriting has never before been published. It belongs to the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Chichester and is contained in a case with a document and other relics of the Saint. The document states: . . . "J'assure, disje, que toutes ses reliques ont été données par nos Mères Carmélites d'Hespagne à nos premières mères du Couvent Royal de Bruxelles avec des assurances de personnes très digne de foy. En moyen du témoignage de l'affection que jay pour le couvent de nos Carmélites de Valenciennes, je leur en fais present de tous . . . fait à Lille le 2 Juillet, 1701. Fr. Aubert de Ste. Marie, Vicaire-Provincial, Carme Deschaussé." The date of the fragment is uncertain but it seems to have been written during the troubles of the Reform, probably during 1578, as in the fragment dated August of that year, St. Teresa complains that Father Gracian did not write to her and she speaks there and in other letters of his being worn out and exhausted by work and anxiety. If so, the fragment must be anterior to October 15, 1578, as from that time, the Saint does not address him as 'Your Paternity.'

God forgive you for such days of suffering as you have cost me with your fevers and the hemorrhage, which they say has been very severe. I do not know why you did not tell me of it. I own, my Father, that it tries me so that I do not know how I manage to speak a pleasant word to you, for though. . .

CCL

Avila, October 4, 1578[1]

TO FATHER PABLO HERNANDEZ, S. J. MADRID

Trials of the Reform and of Father Gracian. Petition for help in respect of the Royal Council and the Nuncio.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with you, my Father.

A WEEK ago, I received a letter from Ana de los Angeles, Prioress of Medina, telling me that you were at Madrid. The news was a great comfort to me, for I believe that God has led you there in order to relieve me of some of my trials. Since August last year they have been so numerous and so varied that it would be an intense relief to me if you visited me, so that I could tell you about some of them, though to relate them all would be impossible. They culminate in our present position, which will be described to you by the bearer of this letter, whose affection for us makes him share our sorrows, and whom we can trust implicitly.

[1] Fuente, 214. The original letter belonged to the Discalced convent, Carnide.

The devil cannot endure the fervour with which these Discalced friars and nuns serve our Lord. I assure your Reverence that the perfection of their lives would console you. There are nine houses of friars containing many excellent religious, but as we do not form a separate province no pen could describe the annoyances and sufferings inflicted on them by those 'of the cloth.' At present our Father, whether for good or evil is, under God, in the hands of the Nuncio; and, for our sins the Mitigated have brought charges against us, in which the Nuncio places entire credit, so that I do not know how affairs will end. They say that I am a gad-about, restless woman, who founded convents without licence either from Pope or General. Let your Reverence consider whether anything could have been more unruly or unchristian on my part. Many other accusations unfit to be mentioned, are brought by these blessed friars against me and Father Gracian, who was their Visitor. Such unbearable calumnies are deplorable, for I certify to your Reverence that no one I have met serves God more truly with an upright, pure conscience than he does. You may trust my word for this. As perhaps you are aware, he has been trained by the Society all his life. The whole matter took its rise at Alcala. The Nuncio is exceedingly angry with him for reasons concerning which, were the truth known, Father Gracian would be found to be little if at all to blame. I, too, am in disgrace with the Nuncio, although I have done nothing against his authority; indeed, I willingly obeyed a Brief which he sent here,[2]

[2] See Letter of August 8, 9. 1578.

and wrote him the most humble letter possible.

I believe that all this trouble is sent from heaven, that God wills us to suffer and that no one should defend the truth or say a good word for me. I declare sincerely to you that I feel neither trouble nor pain regarding what affects me personally: indeed, it affords me special pleasure, though if it were proved that these fathers' charges against me were false, perhaps the Nuncio would not believe what they allege against our Father Gracian, which is the important matter for us. I therefore send you a copy of the patents of authorization which I hold, as the Nuncio declares that our acts are invalid on the ground that we have founded houses without licence. As I perceive that the devil is doing all in his power to discredit these convents, I desire that God's servants should come forward to defend them. O my Father, how few friends we have in time of need!

They tell me that you are a great favourite of the President and that you are now in Madrid on his account. I believe that the Nuncio has given him his own version of what I have told you, and more as well. Your Reverence would do us great service by undeceiving the President, which you could do as an eye-witness, as indeed you are of my soul. I believe it would be rendering great service to our Lord. Will you explain to the President how important it is that the new-born Reform should flourish, for you know how lax our sacred Order had become.

People declare that the Reform is a new Order

freshly invented. Let them read our primitive Rule: all we do is to observe it without mitigation in all the rigour in which the Pope first authorized it. Let them believe only what they see, and examine our lives and those of the Calced, instead of listening to what the latter say, for I do not know where the Mitigated got the many falsehoods with which they attack us. I also beg your Reverence to speak on my behalf to the Nuncio's confessor,[3] to remember me to him, and tell him the whole truth, asking him to lay it on the Nuncio's conscience not to publish such charges against us until he has investigated them. Say that, though I am extremely wicked, I should not dare to commit the actions of which they accuse me. I ask you to do this if you think it expedient; not otherwise.

If your Reverence approves, you might also show the Nuncio the patents by which I founded, one of which contains a formal precept not to cease making foundations. When I asked our Father General not to make me establish any more convents, he wrote in reply that he wished me to found as many houses as I had hairs on my head. It is not right that so many nuns who serve God devoutly should be discredited by such accusations. Since, as I said, it is you of the Society who trained me and gave me being, it seems to me right that you should declare the truth, so that such a grave personage as the Nuncio, who has come to reform our religious Orders and is not himself a native of Spain, should learn who ought to be reformed and who ought to be taken into favour, and should punish

[3] Don Luis Manrique.

the persons who have told him such falsehoods.

Your Reverence will know what is best to be done. I ask of you for the love of our Lord and His precious Mother that as you have helped us ever since you knew us, you will do so now in our dire need. They will repay you generously, and your Reverence owes it to me for my good-will towards you and in defence of the truth, which you will make known in the way you see best.

I beg your Reverence to keep me informed of everything, especially about your health. Mine has been very poor, for our Lord has tried me in every way this year, but I care little for myself. What troubles me is to see that these servants of God are suffering for my sins. May His Majesty be with your Reverence and protect you! Kindly let me know whether the report is true that you are to make a long stay in Madrid.

To-day is the feast of St. Francis.

The unworthy and loyal daughter of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite.

CCLI

Prefatory note.

While Juan Jesus de Roca was in retirement at Madrid he wrote frequently to Sega, begging to be heard in defence of the Discalced. At last the Nuncio visited him at the priory and Fray Juan pleaded for the Reform and its foundress. At the name of St. Teresa, Sega exclaimed angrily: 'Do not mention her name! She is a restless, gad-about, disobedient, contumacious woman who promulgates pernicious doctrine under the pretence

of devotion. She leaves her cloister against the orders of her superiors and the decrees of the Council of Trent. She is ambitious and teaches theology as though she were a doctor of the Church in spite of St. Paul's prohibition.' The 'rock of bronze' defended the Saint against each charge and convinced the Nuncio of her innocence. He then begged that the Discalced might be constituted as a separate province as the Calced would not govern them according to their Rule and wished to suppress them. 'I give you my word not to subject you to the Mitigated,' answered Sega: Write to all your communities telling them to apply to me for what they want, for I myself will govern you in future.' (*Reforma*, bk. IV, ch. XXVIII, XXX. 2. *Found.* XXVIII, note 9.) This was probably the occasion on which he liberated Fathers Gracian, Mariano and Antonio.

Unhappily the Nuncio's favourable state of mind was soon changed to anger and indignation. The Apostolic Visitors had decreed that when their term of office had expired the members of the Reform might meet in Chapter and elect a Provincial of there own. Relying on this, Fray Antonio de Jesus, who in the Chapter held at Almodovar 1576 had been made first Definitor and appointed vice-gerent of Father Gracian in case of the latter's absence or revocation, summoned the Discalced priors and their *socii* to a Chapter to be held at Almodovar on October 7, 1578. Here Fray Antonio was elected Provincial, which was considered both by the friends and enemies of the Reform as equivalent to constituting it as a separate province. Besides this, friars were appointed as messengers to the Holy See to negotiate the affairs of the Discalced. Saint John of the Cross went to the Chapter and did all that he could to persuade his brethren against taking such a course. Before the Chapter was dissolved, Fray Juan de Jesus Roca arrived from Madrid and vehemently urged the wrongfulness of the act. He told his brethren that they could not plead the decree of

the Visitors on which they relied because they had forfeited all right to a separate government when Father Gracian submitted to the Nuncio. He begged them to undo what they had done, but they, by way of reply, had him confined to his cell for a month so that he might not return to Madrid and denounce them to Sega. In fact, his remonstrances had no more effect than those made by St. Teresa when first she heard of the plan. (Letter of April 15, 1578. *Found.*, Introd. XLVII, ch. XXVIII.)

'Hardly was the Chapter over when the Nuncio heard of the proceedings. Not only did he annul the acts of the Chapter, (which had been held in virtue of former permissions granted by Ormaneto which had expired with his death, and had also been revoked by his successor) but he declared Fray Antonio's election to be illegal and summoned him to appear in his presence with the other superiors. (Fray Antonio had not obeyed this order on November 13). Sega also immediately dissolved the separate province and decreed that the houses of the friars should be incorporated with those of the Calced of the provinces of Castile and Andalusia respectively, under the jurisdiction of Didacus de Cardenas and Juan Gutierrez. At the same time, the Nuncio forbade any one to change the rules, to molest the priors, or remove the officials from their charges. Sega issued letters patent to this effect on October 16, and on the same day ordered that a minute account of the whole affair should be drawn up for the secretary of state of Pope Gregory XIII. Sega also acted very severely towards several of the Discalced. The Provincials, especially Juan Gutierrez, not only carried out his orders but also disobeyed his decrees by molesting the nuns and friars, into whose houses they entered as into conquered citadels.' (*Acta. Cap. Gen.* Vol. I, p. 560).

When Father Gracian and the other superiors appeared before the Nuncio he spoke sternly to them and refused to allow them to plead their cause. The Brief of Oct. 16

so incensed the king and his Council that, without waiting for an answer to their appeal to Rome, he sent a royal provision to all the Discalced nuns and friars commanding them not to obey the Nuncio as he had not shown the powers that enabled him to interfere with the religious houses of Spain.

Meanwhile, the Nuncio excommunicated the fathers who had taken part in the Chapter and sent St. Teresa back to Toledo, bidding her remain enclosed there. Fray Antonio was imprisoned at la Roda; Mariano was detained first at Atocha and then, as that place was near Madrid and it was thought that he might influence the king, of whom he was a favourite, he was removed to Pastrana. Fray Antonio and Fray Gabriel de la Assuncion were relegated to the Franciscan priory of Madrid. Father Gracian, after having been confined in the Calced Carmelite priory in Madrid was sent to the Discalced priory of Alcala de Henares. The Reform was forbidden to admit novices and its ruin seemed inevitable.

Two friars chosen by the Chapter of Almodovar were sent to Rome on the affairs of the Discalced: Fray Juan de San Diego, prior of the house of Mount Calvary, and Fray Pedro de los Angeles. The latter was distinguished for his austerity. 'You are going to Rome barefoot but you will come back shod,' St. John of the Cross told him. The prophecy was fulfilled. At Naples, on his way to Rome, Fray Pedro met the Vicar General Caffardi and delivered the documents to him instead of placing them in the hands of the authorities at Rome. They were never returned. Enervated by the luxury he enjoyed during his stay at the palace of the viceroy at Naples, Fray Pedro left the Reform for the Mitigation. On his return to Spain, he sold his white mantle at Granada, where it was bought by the Venerable Anne of Jesus, who sent him a message that he must look to his soul, for he would soon die. She refused his repeated requests for an interview, but one day, seeing the door of the convent chapel

open, he went in to pray and was struck with such remorse that he wept himself blind and died three days afterwards, about three years after his return from Italy. The only result of his mission was to defer the necessary steps being taken for the Reform.

Avila, October 15, 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Death of Rubeo. Chapter of Almodovar. That the friars should not be sent to Rome.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father.

ON seeing you delivered from those affrays, I was delivered from my trouble about the rest of the affairs, come what may!

I was deeply grieved at the news they sent me about our Father General;[2] I feel very sad about it. On the day it arrived I could do nothing but cry

[1] Fuente 215. The autograph is at the convent of Corpus Christi, Alcala de Hénarès.

[2] Rubeo or Rossi was born at Ravenna in 1507. He became a Carmelite at the age of seventeen, studied at Siena and Padua, took a doctor's degree, and taught at the Roman university Sapienza. As companion to the Father General Audet, he became thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Order and was unanimously elected General in 1564. Two years before, as Vicar General, he had been sent by the Pope to visit and reform every province and house of the Order. These faculties were confirmed and extended by Pius V. Rubeo's journey through France, Spain, and Italy took him two years. Philip, who had welcomed him at first, was displeased at the severity with which he treated the relaxed religious of Andalusia. Rubeo visited Avila in 1567 and was henceforth St. Teresa's firm friend and devoted champion. He declared that she did more for the Order in Spain than all the friars put together. Unfortunately, through no fault of hers, misunderstandings arose which were never cleared away before his death which occurred on Sept. 5, 1578. *Found.* ch. ii.

and I bitterly regret that we should have given such trouble to him who certainly did not deserve it. Had we gone straight to him, our path would have been smoothed for us. God forgive him who always prevented it, for I could have arranged it with your Paternity, though you gave little credit to my opinion on the matter. The Master will bring matters right, but I feel it keenly, and also what your Paternity has suffered; for what you told me in the first of the two letters you wrote after your interview with the Nuncio, stabbed me to the heart.

You must know, my Father, that I was extremely distressed at your not having shown him your powers at once;[3] your adviser can have cared little for the trouble you would draw down on yourself. I am glad experience will have taught you in future to take the proper course as I have always advocated, instead of rowing against the stream. To tell the truth, obstacles have blocked our way. However, there is no more to be said about it, for God ordains such things so that His servants may suffer.

I should like to write more, but this letter must go at nightfall and it is late in the evening now. I have sent a lengthy letter to the Bishop of Osma,[4] asking him to consult with the President and Father Mariano about the matter of which I wrote, and to let me know the result.

I have just seen my brother who desires to be kindly remembered to you. All here think that

[3] See Prefatory note to Letter CCXLII.

[4] Alonso Velasquez, St. Teresa's confessor at Toledo.

it would not be well to send friars to Rome, (especially now that Father General is dead,) for the following reasons. First, that their going would not be secret, and before they left Spain perhaps they might be captured by the Calced which would expose our fathers to deadly danger, and their papers and money would be forfeited. Again, they do not know how matters are managed in Rome, and when they arrived, our Father General no longer being there, they would be taken up as recusants when they were seen wandering through the streets, and there would be no one to defend them, as I told Father Mariano. If, with all influences in our favour, we have been unable to free Fray John[5] in Spain, what would it be in Rome?

Every one here (especially my brother, who is much grieved at the way the Discalced are treated) opposes the idea of our sending friars to Rome, believing that some one should be sent who understands the law in such questions. Lorenzo considers this a very important point, as he knows the Mitigated fathers well. The affair would be put entirely into the hands of the person mentioned in my letter. Doctor Rueda feels such complete confidence in him that he thinks no one else would be required.

Let your Paternity examine the whole matter carefully, and if you and Father Mariano agree with what I say, despatch a messenger to Almodovar, telling them not to make arrangements for the fathers' journey to Rome. Will you send me word about it at once. The delegate who would be sent from here is thoroughly capable, but

[5] St. John of the Cross.

would cost rather more. If the funds can be found now, each convent will give its share later on. We could borrow from the legacy left to Alcala and repay it afterwards, for I certainly cannot supply the money from Avila at present. I am telling Father Mariano so, as you will see by the enclosed letter.

Keep in good health, my Father: the Lord will bring all our affairs right. God grant we may agree this time and that nothing more may be done for the present to give these friars a chance of martyrizing us.

Your Paternity's unworthy subject,
Teresa de Jesus.

Things are in a terrible state[6] just now and the devil is helping the Calced. He did himself a good turn when he exchanged the Archangel[7] for the temporizer who is there now. I do not know how such folly could have been committed, but I believe they would have done worse had Ardapilla been there. I realize now, my Father, what martyrdom you suffered amid such conflicting opinions. They should have left you alone, for God was evidently guiding you.

All your daughters here beg for your prayers. I am glad you ordered that the subject should not be mentioned. Let us act with deliberation and

[6] The rest of this letter is written by a secretary.

[7] Don Covarrubias y Leyva, Bishop of Segovia, a staunch supporter of the Reform, as President of the Royal Council had upheld Father Gracian's authority throughout. He died at Madrid on September 27, 1577, and was succeeded as President by Pazos. St. Teresa here alludes to the documents having been given to the Council instead of to the Nuncio. Ardapilla probably stands for the Licentiate Padilla.

carry out this plan about Rome. Time smooths difficulties and, as your Paternity says, things will be settled there in time. Only, I wish you were near me so that we could see one another from time to time; it would be a great consolation to my soul. However, I do not deserve consolation but cross after cross—as long as you have none, let them come and welcome.

I am fairly well, though this head of mine is in a very bad state.

May God be ever with your Paternity! For charity's sake, do not tire yourself by writing much. I am very glad they are electing no Provincial: from what your Paternity says, it is extremely prudent, though when Fray Antonio told me they were bound to nominate one under pain of sin, I did not contradict him. I thought all had been settled there but if they have to go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of the elections, they might also petition for the separate province. If they pass through Avila, let them give me an account of all that is to be done.

To-day is October 15.

I am your Paternity's subject and daughter,

Teresa de Jesus

CCLII

Avila, November 15, 1578.[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

The Saint condoles with him on his imprisonment and begs him not to leave the Order.

. . . God give you strength to be steadfast in the right amid such great peril. Blessed are such trials, however grave, when they do not turn us from the right path. I am not astonished that those who love your Paternity endeavour to free you from them and seek for the means, though it would not be well to forsake the Virgin in a time of such distress. I venture to declare that Doña Juana would not advise it, nor would she consent to such a change.[2] God preserve us from it! Instead of avoiding trials you would plunge yourself into them, for with God's favour, ours will soon be over, but perhaps those of the other Order might last your life-time.

The more I reflect upon the case of your being

[1] Fuente, 216. Corrected from the copy at the National Library, Madrid. The original letter belonged to a gentleman of Santiago.

[2] Father Gracian states in the *Peregrinaciones* (Dial. ix, p. 141) that a friend, (probably instigated by the Calced) told his mother that he had meditated leaving the Reform for some other Order on account of the persecutions he was suffering, and begged her to persuade him to do so. She sent word to her son: 'They tell me you think of leaving our Lady's Order. If such a thought has ever passed through your mind, never speak or write to me again, nor count me as your mother, for he shall be no son of mine who, too cowardly to bear persecutions, deserts such a Mother as the Virgin Mary and her Order.' The Count de Tendilla threatened to stab him if he left the Reform. Father Gracian answered that he had no intention of quitting the Reform, but he had much difficulty in pacifying his mother.

made Visitor again, the worse it seems. I should live in terror at seeing you involved in a thousand difficulties in countless ways. The power of making visits lasts no longer than eating a mouthful of bread, but we might witness your being constantly involved in danger. I entreat you, for the love of God, even if the Nuncio commands you...

CCLIII

Prefatory note.

THE Count de Tendilla called on the Nuncio and begged him to allow the Discalced to state their case to him: on meeting with a refusal he lost his temper and spoke indignantly. Quitting Sega's presence, he went to Chumazero, the king's attorney-general, whom he persuaded to use the civil courts in defence of the friars. The issue was a decree of the Royal Council suspending the Nuncio's orders until the friars had had a hearing. Copies of the decree were sent to all the houses of the Discalced, but all of them, with the exception of Granada, of which the Count de Tendilla was a benefactor, declined the king's protection in that form and submitted to Sega.

Neither the Nuncio nor his emissaries nor the Mitigated Provincials and Visitors paid any attention to these provisions. Sega's deputies continued to visit the houses of the Reform, dispose of their superiors, change their constitutions and send exaggerated accounts of any faults they could discover to the king, the Nuncio, and the Royal Council. They also made vile accusations against the moral character of Father Gracian and the nuns, dragging even St. Teresa's fair fame in the dust. (*Santa*

Teresa, by Don Mir. Vol. IV. ch. IX. Found. ch. XXVIII. note 10.)

Avila, November, 1578[1]

TO FRAY MARIANO, ALCALA DE HÉNARÈS

Advice as to his behaviour to the Calced.

Jesus be with your Reverence, my Father.

IN a letter received to-day from Don Teutonio, at Madrid, he tells me that the Nuncio did not leave. If so, unless you are detained at Alcalá by illness, it is inadmissible that you should seem to disobey him. You must know, my Father, that I think these fathers wish to be friends with us now, and until we see how God means to dispose matters it would be well to temporize with them as you have done hitherto. Certainly I do not blame the Nuncio, but the devil must have planted his batteries so cleverly that nothing would surprise me. Do not let your Reverence fear because no one dares defend you, for God is your protector, and since he has done us the favour of your controlling your temper until now, perfect yourself on that point, and let that be your cross, which can be no light one. Believe me, you could not have borne it unless the Master had given you special grace.

As for the Council's reply, there is nothing to hope for from that quarter. Do you not see it contains nothing but empty compliments? What need is there to send them the document from here, since they have a copy which they know is correct? The time has not come yet; let us wait awhile. God

[1] Fuente 117. Vol. v, No. 35 of first edition.

knows better what He is doing than we know what we want.

What do you think of the way they speak of us in the enclosed paper? I do not know why the Discalced try to disprove such calumnies. Our Father is acting wrongly: it derogates immensely from his dignity. For the love of God, show the paper to nobody. People would think us senseless to notice such scurrilities, or to take steps to clear ourselves: I think it would show great imperfection if we did anything but laugh at them.

You must know, my Father, that all these letters and the many affairs at which I have worked quite unaided have ended by producing such noises and weakness in my head that I have been forbidden to write anything personally unless it is absolutely necessary, so I will say no more. I will only add that, as for obtaining what you speak of from the king, you must not contemplate doing such a thing until you have considered it well, for in my opinion you would lose much credit by it. God will settle the matter in some other way. May He preserve you for my sake.

Your Reverence's servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLIV

Avila, November, 1578[1]

TO FATHER MARIANO, MADRID

Advice as to his conduct.

Jesus be with your Reverence.

OH! How I wish this could be a long letter, for yours delighted me, but they bled me yesterday so that I could not write, and they have ordered that the operation should be repeated to-day. I did not know the messenger would start so soon and he asks me to be quick. The cupping has given fresh life to my head. I shall soon recover, please God!

What cheers me is that, as you must remain at Madrid, you are staying with the Calced friars:[2] but be cautious, my Father, for they will weigh your every word. For the love of God, be very guarded and do not be outspoken. I quite believe what they say of Tostado: if he is wise he will not return without the consent of him who has the right to give it,[3] and he is trying to get the invitation from your Reverence. I never heard of anything so amusing.

I have received the letters you mentioned having

[1] Fuente, 218. The original belongs to the Carmelite convent, Segovia.

[2] The Nuncio, on hearing of the Chapter of Almodovar held by the Discalced, imprisoned Fray Mariano in the priory of the Calced at Madrid, but sent him soon after to that of the Discalced at Pastrana, being afraid of the friar's influence over the king.

[3] The Nuncio Sega. In spite of all the troubles of the Reform, he was friendly with Fray Mariano.

sent: our Father's came yesterday. As regards Fray Baltasar,[4] I certainly wrote to him more than once. As your Reverence is living with the friars, you will be in great favour at Madrid. Continue to act as you are doing, and please the Nuncio; for in fact he is our superior and every one thinks well of obedience,

There is no time to say more.

Yours,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLV

Prefatory note.

While the persecutions raged St. Teresa had remained calm and courageous, and even laughed at the terrible charges made against her, saying that if she had not committed these crimes she was guilty of many others, and the people who accused her were holy men so that she must be in fault in some way. But on Christmas eve, when she expected better news, so sad a letter reached her from Father Gracian that she broke down. 'God give me patience!' she cried; then reflecting for a moment, she exclaimed: 'Now, Lord, Thou art granting my desires for suffering.' She shut herself in her cell and wept and prayed till nightfall, refusing any food. In the evening, Blessed Anne of St. Bartholomew knocked gently at her door and persuaded her to come to the refectory. There the lay sister saw our Lord take some bread, bless it, and put it to the Saint's mouth, saying: 'Eat this for love of Me.' During the long Office and Midnight Mass, the tears streamed from her eyes at the thought of the foul charges brought against those who

[4] Probably Baltasar de Jesus.

lived such lives of purity as the Discalced. (Depostion of Mary of St. Joseph.)

Avila, towards the end of December, 1578.[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

Thanks for his help. Notification of the October Brief at St. Joseph's, Avila.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Honour.

ENCLOSED is a letter for the Father Master Chaves,[2] telling him that you will acquaint him with the state of our affairs. Manage to find an opportunity of talking to him and giving him my letter, and tell him how those blessed fathers (*benditos*) treat us. I think this missive will have some effect, for I beg him to speak to the king and explain the injuries done to us nuns when we were subject to the Calced. God forgive them! for they give your Honour such work that I do not know how you have strength to bear it. I know that the cost must be heavy: it depresses me deeply that I cannot do what I wish on account of the many claims upon me here. Much as I should like to help to pay for the fathers' journey to Rome, I do not see how I can, as the other houses have to subscribe by my means. It will be no small thing if the sum is found. However, I should consider it all well spent, for if we were at peace I could carry

[1] Fuente, 119. The original belonged to the Carthusians of Saragossa.

[2] Philip's confessor, formerly confessor to St. Teresa; he was a Dominican.

out my wishes with regard to him to whom we are under such great obligations.

This information will show you how little the royal provision avails us with these fathers. I do not know whether they would respect even the king himself. As they are accustomed to do as they choose and matters are favourable to them here, I assure you that it would be the most dangerous risk possible to attempt to arrange affairs with them just now. You mention that the Discalced at Alcala and Pastrana submitted to the Calced, but as I do not know whether their answer was identical with ours, will you be kind enough to tell me, for our Father[3] has said nothing to me on the subject. He cannot have been at Pastrana.

I received all the papers you sent, but they arrived too late for the other houses. Will you let us know of what use they are to us unless the authorities order that our fathers should be driven out of their priories or take any other extreme measure. This morning has been a day of doom: all the lawyers, men of letters, and gentlemen present were horrified at the irreligious behaviour of the Calced friars. I was greatly distressed and would willingly have allowed them to hear . . . but we did not dare to speak. Believe me, they cannot truthfully assert that they saw us do anything amiss, as Pedro[4] was at the door and went to tell my brother directly the fathers came. I felt anxious until I saw Lorenzo arrive with the corregidor. However, their presence will benefit us little as people will probably put

[3] Father Gracian.

[4] The out-door porter already mentioned.

more faith in the inventions of the Calced than in our truthfulness. Be charitable enough to send our Father a statement of all that happened for I have not time to write to him. Also kindly let me know whether you are both well.

I sent another letter by mistake for the one from Valladolid which I asked you to read and forward to him. The one meant for you is still here. I asked him how the Visitation of the Calced friars succeeded and gave him an account of all that had passed. I have asked the nuns of Valladolid and Medina to write to you on the matter

Let me know what you can about Fray Baltasar's interview with the Nuncio, also whether the Mitigated friars are entitled to notify to our fathers, as, according to the wording of the Brief, no one but the Provincial has the right to delegate such authority. So people declare here, but I am uncertain as to its being the case.

Report says that I am to be transferred to another convent; if it should belong to the Mitigated, how much worse a life mine will be than that which they led Fray John of the Cross! I wondered whether an excommunication was to be fulminated against me to-day, as a small document came with the large one. I do not merit the grace of such sufferings as Fray John's. I was extremely glad that the father left so opportunely. . .[5]

[5] The rest of the letter is missing. It is not known to whom the Saint was alluding.

CCLVI

Prefatory note.

The Nuncio went to the king to ask for an apology from the Count de Tendilla. 'The count owes you satisfaction,' replied Philip, 'and I will see that he offers it, and will show him that no one in my kingdom is allowed to show disrespect to the Holy Father's representative with impunity. But,' he continued in icy tones: 'I am aware of the hostility shown by the Mitigated against the Reform which looks ill, as the Discalced lead austere and perfect lives. See that you favour virtue, for people tell me that you are no friend of the Discalced.' The Nuncio, who knew the inflexible character of the king, was much disturbed by his tone and manner, for now both king and court and council, as well as the people were against him. The count, who was absent from Madrid, wrote an apology containing an account of the wrongs suffered by the Discalced at the hands of the Mitigated. He directed it to Pazos who showed it to Philip by whom it was transmitted to Sega without a word. On the Count's return to court, he called on Sega who cut short his excuses by saying: 'I protest that I have meant to do right in this matter. To prove it, I shall be glad if the king will choose some persons to examine into the affair with me.' Philip, greatly pleased, chose four assessors: Don Luis Manrique, the royal almoner; Canon Villavicencio, Augustinian, preacher to the court; Fray Hernando del Castillo, Dominican; and Fray Pedro Hernandez, Dominican, who, as already stated, the Duke of Alba had summoned to court to take charge of the affairs of the Reform. Of Don Luis Manrique it is told that when Sega said to him: 'You are rather the advocate of the Discalced than their judge,' Manrique replied: 'And your Eminence is more their fiscal-procurator than their judge.' The assessors requested the Nuncio to hand over to them all documents and informations written by the

Mitigated against the Discalced for investigation. (Don Mir. Bk. IV. ch. x.)

At the same time, the Royal Council declared that no decree of the Nuncio should be accepted by the authorities and tribunal until the case of the Discalced had been heard. With their concurrence, the final sentence was passed on Father Gracian on December 20, (to be carried out at once). By this he was to be absolved from all censure and to retire to the priory of Alcala de Hénarès, which he was not to leave without Sega's permission. He was to fast three times a week, take the discipline once a week, have no part in the affairs of the Discalced nuns and friars, and was forbidden to write to any one but the Nuncio and his father and mother. However, he was allowed to say Mass and preach... Joannes Baptista Caffardo (Vicar General of the Carmelite Order after the death of Rubeo) took the first opportunity of writing in a friendly manner to the Discalced who replied on December 1, promising submission and obedience. (*Acta Cap. Gen.* Vol. I. p. 561. *Found.* Introd. XLVIII; ch. xxviii, 4, 5, and notes.)

In both his *Peregrin.* and *Adiciones* to Ribera's *Vida de Santa Teresa*, Father Gracian says that though he could have cleared his character, yet rather than injure the prospect of the separation of provinces by the delay, he allowed himself to be condemned and punished for the crimes alleged against him by the Calced, merely telling the Nuncio that he was innocent and resigning his fate into Sega's hands.

Avila, December 28, 1578[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

Good news about the Reform. Private affairs.

JESUS be ever with your Honour, and may He make you as happy this Christmastide and new

[1] Fuente 220. Vol. V, No. 51, first edition. Fray Andrés says the original letter or an ancient copy was at the Discalced convent, Calatayud.

year as you have rendered me with such good news!

The letter brought by Pedro Ries[2] made me feel very sad on Christmas day and the next day, but on St. John's feast, in the morning, another carter came with yours which cheered us extremely. God be praised for such a signal mercy! I assure you that the rest gives me little trouble now, though I should be very glad to see the two fathers set free.[3] I trust that having granted us this favour, God will bestow the others. May His Majesty obtain for us the separate province, as He sees its necessity.

God reward you for having told the licentiate about the money and for all your other help. I should not mind a longer delay. This will suffice until we receive an answer. When you pay the sum let me know, and I will refund it at once without fail.

I beg your Honour to give the enclosed letters into the hands of the addressees; it is necessary. Always acknowledge the letters you get from me or I shall feel anxious, with good reason. Remem-

[2] The servant of the convent already mentioned. The letter contained an account of the slanders against the Discalced.

[3] The two fathers were probably Gracian and Mariano. The latter had been sent first to the Dominican priory at Atocha, then to Pastrana by the Nuncio who allowed none of the Discalced to remain at court except Doria, who had not taken part in the Visitation and probably was not present at the Chapter of Moraleja. Doria was supposed by the Calced to be an easy-going man of limited abilities with whom matters could be easily settled. The politic Italian stayed at the Calced priory at Madrid, under the pretext of helping a relation at court who obtained permission for him from the Nuncio to communicate with the Discalced. Consequently he went to and fro between Madrid and Atocha to negotiate with Pedro Hernandez, and kept St. Teresa and the superiors of the Discalced informed as to what was being done.

ber that it is most important that all these missives should be delivered with caution. When these fathers of ours are free, the rest will trouble me little. for God will do better than we could, since the work is His. Remember me to Doña Inés and the señoras.

It is Sunday, the feast of the Innocents.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLVII

Avila, December 28, 1578[1]

TO DOÑA JUANA DANTISCO, MADRID

Consoling her for Father Gracian's imprisonment. The king's order that the councillors should inquire into the affairs of the Reform.

. . . My Señora, you know that for a long while, his whole prayer, accompanied by ardent longing, has been to beseech God to send him crosses. I perceived that His Majesty was preparing him for coming trials: and what trials they have been! May God's name be praised! Our Father will find that his soul has made such progress that he will not recognize himself. He has caused us all to gain great merit. The thought of what you must all have suffered has been constantly before my mind, but you, too, must have profited by it.

When once I see the others at liberty too—and they will be freed for they have fewer accusers than before—I shall be perfectly contented, for, as

[1] Fuente 221. The first two lines are missing. The original is at the Jesuits' church, Huesca.

I said, I feel certain, on account of the many devout souls praying for it, that our Lord will watch specially over this affair — the most important one for us. He will do whatever tends most to His own glory and service. May His Majesty have you in His care and protect you, also the señor secretary, whose hands I kiss with those of the señoras.

The sisters here kiss your hands: they are very glad of what has been done, and I am still more glad of what I told you, though we shall all continue some penances for a time. Our Father's letters were always helpful to our souls; we used to read them aloud together as though they were sermons, but the devil is trying to deprive us even of that. However, God is over all!

To-day is the feast of the Innocents.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLVIII

Avila, towards the end of December, 1578[1]

TO THE VEN. ANNE OF JESUS AND HER COMMUNITY AT VÉAS

Praise of St. John of the Cross as a director.

. . . I declare to you that I should esteem it as a favour if my father, Fray John of the Cross, were here, for indeed he is the father of my soul and one

[1] Fragment of an autograph letter found in an account of the virtues of St. John of the Cross among the archives of the Order, written by Magdalena del Espiritu Santo, his spiritual daughter and foundress of the convent at Cordova. St. John was then at the Priory of the Calvary, two leagues oft, and used to walk to Véas once a week, whatever the weather was, to hear the nuns' confessions.

of those from whom I have reaped most good by opening my heart to him. My daughters, imitate me with perfect frankness, for I assure you that you can look on him as standing in my place; you will be greatly pleased at the result for he is extremely spiritual, experienced, and learned. Those who were guided by him here miss him greatly. You should thank God for having brought him to your neighbourhood. I am writing to him, asking him to help you, as I know his great charity will lead him to do whenever you require it. . .

CCLIX

Avila, towards the end of December, 1578[1]

TO THE VEN. ANNE OF JESUS, PRIORESS OF VÉAS

The Saint recommends the nuns to open their conscience to St. John of the Cross.

. . . I am indeed surprised, my daughter, at your making such unreasonable complaints, considering that my Father, Fray John of the Cross, visits you, for I assure you that, since he left, I have found no one like him in all Castile, nor is there any one who inspires souls with such fervour on their road to heaven. You should all recognize that you possess a priceless treasure in that saint. Each nun should lay open her soul to him; she will discover how it

[1] Fuente, 224. This fragment occurs in the information for the beatification of St. John of the Cross given by Mother Francisca de la Madre de Dios, nun of Véas.

will profit her, and will advance rapidly in the spiritual life and perfection, for our Lord has given him special grace for such guidance. . .

CCLX

Avila, towards the end of December, 1578[1]

TO MOTHER ANNE OF ST. ALBERT PRIORESS OF CARAVACA

. . . The Saint sends St. John of the Cross to confess the nuns.

. . . Daughter, I will arrange that Fray John of the Cross shall pass through Caravaca. Look upon him as though he were myself and open your souls to him frankly. Rely on him, for his is a soul to which God communicates His spirit. . .

CCLXI

TO THE SAME[1]

St. John of the Cross consents to hear the nuns' confessions.

. . . Daughter, Fray John of the Cross is going to Caravaca. Let your community open their souls freely to him as though he were myself, for he has our Lord's own spirit. . .

[1] Fuente 225. This fragment is given in the deposition made by Mother Ana de San Alberto for the beatification of St. John of the Cross. Caravaca is twenty leagues from Véas.

[1] The same as the preceding letter. In those troublous times, letters often went astray. Probably these were sent by different routes.

CCLXII

Avila, towards the end of December, 1578[1]

TO THE VEN. ANNE OF JESUS, PRIORESS OF VÉAS

The Saint thanks her for having provided money to help the commission sent to Rome.

MY daughter and my crown! I cannot thank God enough for the favour He did me in drawing you to the religious life. For, as His Majesty, when He delivered the children of Israel from Egypt, set before them a column which guided and enlightened them by night and sheltered them from the sun by day, so He seems to have done for our Order—and your Reverence, my daughter, is the column which enlightens and defends us. All that you have done for these fathers has been most judicious and your devotion and generosity prove that God dwells in your soul. May the Master, for Whom you have done it, reward you and may He grant to these efforts the success befitting them! . . .

[1] Fuente 227. The autograph does not exist, as during a dangerous crisis St. Teresa wrote to the Ven. Anne of Jesus telling her to destroy all she had written to her. This letter is quoted by Angelus Manrique in his life of the Ven. Anne of Jesus. (Bk. III, ch. xiv, 3.) The latter had given 400 gold pieces towards the expenses for sending the two friars to Rome: the Count de Tendilla had done the same and Doria had subscribed 8000 reales. St. Teresa might well apply the words of St. Paul (Phil. IV, 1; and 1 Thess. ii. 19) to her whom she had from the first considered as her equal in the Order.

CCLXIII

Avila, during the year 1578[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, PRIORESS OF SEVILLE.

The Saint begs her to bear patiently with the chaplain Garci Alvarez.

. . . For love of our Lord, I entreat you, daughter, to suffer and be silent, and not to consent to that Father's[2] being dismissed, even though he should give you more trouble and annoyance than he has already, as his faults do not amount to an offence against God. I cannot endure that we should show ingratitude to one who has done us good. I remember how, when people tried to cheat us about a house they were selling us, he showed us how we were being tricked, and I can never forget this service and what trouble he saved us. He has always seemed to me to serve God sincerely and to be well-intentioned. I know very well that gratitude is no perfection in me—it must be my nature, for a sardine would bribe me.

[1] Fuente 228. Ribera, Bk. iv, ch. 23. Yepes, Bk. iii, ch. 10. The beginning and end are missing.

[2] Father Garci Alvarez had been put back as confessor to the nuns by the Provincial of the Mitigation. When the Calced came to the convent, Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and Margarita de la Concepcion again brought false charges against Mary of St. Joseph and Father Gracian, and even against St. Teresa herself. The result was that Mary of St. Joseph was deposed from her office and Beatriz was made prioress in her stead. When Fray Angel de Salazar was made Visitor of the Discalced, he investigated the matter, proved the falsehood of the accusations and restored Mary of St. Joseph to her post. (See Letter of Dec. 13, 1576). For the help given by Father Garci Alvarez in choosing a house, see *Found.* ch. xxv, 5-7.

CCLXIV

Avila, the end of December, 1578[1]

TO SOME LADIES WHO WISHED TO JOIN THE DISCALCED

The Saint asks them to wait until the trials of the Reform are over.

Jesus be with your Honours.

I RECEIVED your letter. It is always a great comfort to me to hear from you and to learn that our Lord keeps you faithful to your good purpose. It is no small grace in this Babylon where what you hear is better calculated to dissipate the soul than to make it recollected. It is true that enlightened minds learn from the many changes that take place how vain and fleeting are all earthly things. Any one who did not understand our Lord's ways would be deeply grieved at the fortunes of our Order for more than a year past,[2] but seeing that it all purifies souls, and that God must, in the end, favour His servants, there is no cause for fear, but great reason to wish that our trials may increase and to thank God for allowing us to suffer for justice' sake. You, Señoras, must do the same, trusting in Him, and your wishes will be granted when you least expect it.

May His Majesty have you in His keeping and make you as holy as I ask of Him. Amen.

[1] Fuente 229. Vol. I, No. 41. first edition.

[2] From this sentence it is inferred that the letter was written about the end of 1578.

CCLXV

Avila, either the beginning of 1579 or end of 1578[1]

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO FATHER GRACIAN

Encourages him to suffer persecutions.

. . . I consider that God is showing a great favour by giving strength to Paul to make these great resolutions in the midst of such tempests. An hour a month of such a favour is a great thing when there is so much to deprive him of his peace. Glory be to Him from Whom the gift comes!

Paul's fulfilment of that contract will content me, for after all, the other troubles will come to an end—nor would it matter much if they did not. Will your Paternity warn him that I shall keep that written promise with which to confront him if he breaks his word.

It came in time to reassure my fears, for my one dread is lest Paul should in any way go against the will of God. Joseph has comforted Angela strongly on this point and assured her that Paul is doing well and acquiring more and more merit. . .

[1] Fuente 230. This fragment of a letter is given by Father Gracian in his *Peregrinacion* (Dial. xvii, pp. 509, 510). He says that he wanted to make a vow of always doing what was most pleasing to God, in imitation of St Teresa, but she persuaded him merely to make a contract with her to that effect in order to avoid scruples. Joseph and Angela stand for our Lord and St. Teresa.

CCLXVI

Avila, the end of December 1578[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Advice and encouragement.

. . . The intuition which Paul affirms he received of the greatness of Joseph is a very high one. However, there are degrees of perfection in the works we accomplish for Him, for as we can never judge of the purity of our intention, we must be as prudent in such matters as in all else, putting little confidence in ourselves.

How you will laugh at this nonsense, my Father! you will think that Paul is always before my mind. However, he might forget my recommendation with all his other cares and it is as well to remind him: at any rate, it can do no harm.

. . . Oh! How well my Paul's name suits him! At one moment he is raised to heaven: at the next in the depth of the sea. I assure you that we may well glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. . .

. . . I love them tenderly and am delighted when you praise them, but you show *me* gratitude as though *I* had done it. . .

[1] Fuente 231. This letter is composed of several fragments published in Vol. VI, numbered 25 to 29. It is not known whether all were included in the same letter. The fragments are from notes taken by Sister Maria de San José, sister of Father Gracian.

CCLXVII

1579[1]?

TO A CARMELITE NUN

How to bear persecution.

. . . In order to profit and advance by means of persecutions and injuries it is well to reflect that God has been offended by them before I have. When the blow strikes me, He has already been offended by the sin. The soul that loves its Bridegroom ought already to have pledged itself to be entirely His and to have no will of its own, and if *He* bears with the injury, why should *we* resent it? Our only sorrow should be that God has been offended, for the soul itself is not directly affected but is only reached by the sensitiveness of the body which richly deserves to suffer in this world.

To die or suffer[2]—this should be our wish.

No one is tempted more than he is able to bear.

Nothing happens except by the will of God.

'My father,' said Eliseus to Elias: 'you are the chariot of Israel and the driver thereof.'[3] . . .

[1] The autograph was in the convent of Guadalajara in the eighteenth century.

[2] The Saint here, as elsewhere, writes: 'Die or suffer;' not as often given: 'Suffer or die.'

[3] Pater mi, pater mi, currus Israel et auriga ejus. IV. Kings, ii, 12.

CCLXVIII

Avila, about January, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Trials of Father Gracian

. . . I am astonished at the letters from Alcala, especially at the one written by your Paternity: I am extremely annoyed. God help us, how little we know ourselves! I declare, as I wrote before, that I am so terrified at what has been done already that I do not like your being there, and I believe my fears will be justified. I would rather you went back to the 'cats.' The threat is a good one. . .

[1] *Peregrin.* Dial. xvi. p. 307. While Father Gracian was confined in the Discalced College at Alcala, the prior, Father Elias, a great friend of his, was taken ill and charged him to hold the community chapter occasionally. Three of the friars wrote secretly to the Nuncio accusing Father Gracian of exercising authority in the house contrary to Sega's decree. The latter was very angry and wrote to Father Gracian, blaming him severely. Father Gracian had been staying, by the Nuncio's order at the priory of the Calced Carmelites in Madrid, where he had been very kindly treated. This is what the Saint means when she wishes he would return to the 'cats.' Father Gracian looked upon this as a prophecy of his joining the Mitigated later in life and of their treating him better than did Doria's party.

CCLXIX

Avila, January 31, 1579[1]

TO DON FERNANDO, CARTHUSIAN PRIOR OF LAS CUEVAS, SEVILLE

The Saint asks him to befriend the nuns at Seville in their persecutions, and to deliver a letter from her to them. A situation is wanted by the letter-bearer.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Ghost be with your Paternity, my Father.

WHAT does your Paternity think of the way in which this convent of the glorious St. Joseph is being looked after, and of the manner in which his daughters have been, and are now being treated, in addition to the very long period during which they have suffered spiritual trials and worries from him who ought to have comforted them?[2] It seems to me that if they asked for crosses from God, He has exceeded their requests. May He be praised for all things! I really feel very little pity for those who went to Seville with me: sometimes I am glad because of what they will gain in this war made against them by the devil. But I do pity those who have entered from Seville, who, when they ought to be learning to be peaceful and to become familiar with the practices of the Order, are prevented by all this disturbance, which, as they are new to the

[1] Fuente 232. The autograph belongs to the Carmelite nuns of Seville.
[2] Probably Father Garci Alvarez.

religious life, may do them much harm. May the Master bring things right!

I assure your Paternity that the evil one has been trying to disturb the community for a long while. I wrote to the Prioress advising her to consult you about her troubles but she must have felt too shy to do so. It would have been a great comfort to me if I could have laid the whole case before you, but I am afraid to put it in a letter and should not have told you what I have, had not the messenger been thoroughly trustworthy.

The lad came to ask me whether any one in Seville would be kind enough to recommend him to a situation, for, though a native of Avila, he cannot live there because the climate is too cold. He was in service with a Canon, a friend of mine, who assures me that he has a good character and is honest, can write well, and keep accounts. For the love of our Lord, I beg your Paternity, if you have the opportunity, to do this kindness to me and service to His Majesty. If requisite, you could mention what I have stated as I am certain the Canon would tell me the whole truth.

I was glad when he applied to me as it was a comfort to write to your Paternity and I could ask you to let the former prioress[3] and the nuns from Castile have the enclosed letter from me. You will know already that she has been deposed from her office and replaced by one of the sisters who entered at Seville. She has suffered many other persecutions, and the Calced have even gone so

[3] Mary of St. Joseph. Beatriz de la Madre de Dios, who falsely accused her, was put in her office.

far as to make her give up the letters I wrote to her, which are now in the Nuncio's possession. The poor nuns have been in great want of some one to console them. Theologians at Avila are astounded at what they have been forced to do through fear of excommunication.

What I fear is that they may have laid a heavy burden on their souls. They cannot have understood what they said, for statements are made in the process which are utterly false: I was there at the time and nothing of the kind happened. But I am not surprised at the nuns' becoming bewildered, for one was kept under examination for six hours. Any one without much sense would have signed whatever the fathers wanted. We learnt here to read before we signed, so that nothing could be got from our nuns.

Our Lord has tried us in every way for the last year and a half, but I am perfectly confident that He will come to the protection of His servants, both friars and nuns, that the devil's plots in this convent will be discovered, and that the glorious St. Joseph will manifest the truth, and what kind of nuns they are who came from here. As for those from Andalusia, I do not know them, but I do know that their word has greater weight with the authorities, which has done much harm in many ways.

For love of our Lord I entreat your Paternity not to desert our sisters but to aid them with your prayers in their tribulation, for they have no other helper but God and no one on earth to whom they can turn for comfort. But His Majesty, Who sees

what they really are, will succour them and inspire you with the charity to do the same.

I enclose my letter to them unsealed, so that if they have been told to deliver up those I write to the Provincial,[4] your Paternity may get some one to read it to them, for it might be a relief to them to see my handwriting. It is believed that the Provincial wants to turn them out of the house; in that case the novices would wish to accompany them. It is evident to me that the devil longs to do away with Discalced friars and nuns, and that this is the reason of such assaults, but I trust God that he will gain little by them. Let your Paternity remember that you have been their only protector in Seville, and now, in the time of their direst need, you should help the cause of the glorious St. Joseph.

May His divine Majesty preserve you for many years for the benefit of the poor, (for I know now how you helped those Discalced fathers) and may He increase your sanctity as I constantly ask of Him!

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and subject,
Teresa de Jesus

If it would not tire your Paternity you are welcome to read the enclosed letter to the nuns.

[4] The Provincial of the Mitigated Carmelites of Andalusia was Fray Diego de Cardenas. The charges against the nuns were chiefly aimed at blackening the character of Father Gracian.

CCLXX

Avila, January 31, 1579[1]

TO THE NUNS OF SEVILLE

Exhorts them to bear persecutions with resignation and joy. The Saint's grief at the calumnies uttered against Father Gracian by the two nuns.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Ghost be with your Charities, my daughters and sisters.

I HAVE never loved you as I do now nor have you ever been so bound to serve our Lord as when He is granting you the great grace of sharing somewhat of His Cross and the extreme abandonment His Majesty experienced on it. Happy the day when you came to this place where such good fortune awaited you! I envy you immensely: it is the fact that when I heard of all these reverses (which have been fully described to me), of how they tried to drive you from the house, with other details, instead of regretting it, I felt immense joy within myself at seeing that, without your having crossed the ocean, the Master had enabled you to discover mines of eternal treasures. I trust in Him that these will make you very rich and you will share your gains with us here. I feel full confidence that, in His mercy, He will aid you to bear all your troubles without offending Him in any way. Do not be distressed because you feel your trials

[1] Fuente 233. The autograph belongs to the nuns of Seville.

deeply, for our Lord wishes to teach you that you are not as strong as you thought you were when you longed for sufferings so ardently.

Courage, courage, my daughters! Remember, God never sends any one trials too heavy to bear, and He is with those in distress. Since this is certain you need fear nothing, but rely on His mercy, for He will bring the whole truth to light and we shall discover some of the hidden plots with which the devil has been trying to upset everything, which caused me more pain than your present crosses.

Prayer, prayer, my sisters! And now let your humility and obedience shine forth. Let no one outvie all your Charities, especially the former Prioress, in obedience to her who has been appointed as your deputy-superior.

Oh! What a good opportunity for profiting by the good resolutions you made to serve our Lord! Remember, He often proves us to see whether our actions will carry out our resolutions and promises. Do honour to yourselves as daughters of the Virgin, and to your sisters, by the way in which you bear this severe persecution; do your best and the good Jesus will help you. Though He may sleep in the boat, when the storm increases He will quiet the wind. He wishes us to ask Him, and He loves us so that He is always seeking how to do us good. Blessed be His name for ever. Amen, amen, amen.

All our communities are praying much for you, so I trust that, in His loving-kindness, God will soon bring matters right. Be of good cheer, for when we consider it, all we undergo for so good a

God amounts to little, considering what He bore for us, for you have not even shed your blood for Him yet, and you are with your sisters, not in Algiers. Leave it all to your Bridegroom and you will see that, before long, the sea will swallow up those who war against us as it did King Pharoah, leaving God's people free and longing to suffer more, seeing what they have gained by it in the past.

I have received your letter and wish that you had not burnt the one you wrote before, as it would have been useful. Theologians say that you might have refused to deliver up my letters, but it is not of much importance.

God grant that all the blame may fall on me, though I have felt the penalties of those who suffered wrongfully as a heavy burden.

What pained me was to see, in the process of information drawn up by the Father Provincial,[1] charges which I know to be utterly untrue, for I was at the convent at the time. For love of our Lord examine carefully whether any one made the statements through nervousness or by mistake, for nothing matters as long as God is not sinned against. But falsehoods and slanders too, grieve me deeply. I cannot believe the statements, for every one knows how upright and modest Father Gracian's behaviour to us has been and what help he has given us to advance in our Lord's service. This being the case, it is very wrong to bring such charges against him, however insignificant.

Have the kindness to say so to these sisters, and

[1] Fray Diego de Cardenas.

abide with the Blessed Trinity. May They have you in Their keeping! Amen.

The community here send you very kind messages. When the clouds have blown over, they hope to have a full account of the matter from Sister St. Francis. Remember me to the good Gabriela, whom I ask to keep happy, for I know how very keenly she must grieve over the way in which Mother Mary of St. Joseph has been treated. I feel no pity for Sister San Jeronimo if her desires are genuine: otherwise, I pity her most of all. To-morrow will be the eve of our Lady of the Candles (Candlemas Day).

I should much prefer talking to Señor Garci Alvarez to writing to him, and as I cannot say what I wish in a letter, I am not sending him one. Remember me to those of the Andalusian sisters to whom you dare mention this letter.

Your Charities' unworthy servant
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXI

Avila, February 4, 1579[1]

TO DOÑA INES NIETO, MADRID

The Saint consoles her in her trials and the imprisonment of her husband, Señor Albornoz.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Ghost ever be with you and give you grace to profit by your

[1] Fuente 234. On account of his son having married without the king's consent, the Duke of Alba was imprisoned. Doña Inès' husband, who was implicated in the affair, shared the Duke's punishment.

trials! I have grieved over them and prayed about them to our Lord, though on the other hand I realize that they are favours such as His Majesty grants to those He loves dearly, in order to rouse us and make us indifferent to the changeful, fleeting things of this life, so that we may strive to win eternal life.

What commotions and calumnies there have been this year! I was deeply grieved when first I heard of the imprisonment of Señor Albornoz, but on learning that it was connected with Don Fadrique's affair, I trusted in God that his trial would soon be over. I kiss the hands of Señor Albornoz. The time will come when he would not exchange the days he spent in prison fetters for all the gold chains in the world. God grant him good health, with which troubles can be better borne. I pity you less, because I believe our Lord has given you the strength to pass through heavier trials. May His Majesty grant you more grace every day and preserve you to us for many years. Amen. To-day is February 4.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXII

Prefatory note.

Early in this year, Philip told the Nuncio that Father Gracian had been punished enough; the latter was therefore pardoned and restored to his former dignity. The Discalced at once submitted their affairs to him and begged him to take steps to obtain the Brief and the

erection of a separate province. Father Gracian accordingly sent to Rome Juan de Jesus Roca, the valiant defender of the Reform, and Fray Diego de la Trinidad, Prior of Pastrana. The latter, formerly a member of the Hieronymite Order, subsequently became Prior of Seville and Provincial of Andalusia and died in 1582. The two fathers, disguised as laymen, embarked for Naples in May. Father Gracian would have liked to go to Rome himself and found a priory there.

Avila, February 20, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, MADRID

Advice as to founding a house in Rome and sending two friars there. The Saint begs Father Gracian not to go himself as he intended.

... As we are anxious to settle matters, I do not wish to make any plans that cannot be properly carried out. We must consider carefully whether, though we are in a better position for doing so, it would be well to found a house in Rome until the Reform is more consolidated. It would be a terrible mistake on all hands if the Calced there, who are so near the Pope, should act as our enemies. Also, if you send the letter to the king's canon there,[2] your Reverence should advise him as to who should be nominated as Provincial.

I should not like you to go to Rome at present, as things are so well arranged that there seems no need for it, and we must not all remain here doing penance with no one to help us. If you must go, it would be fitting that you should do so for the

[1] Fuente 235. The first page is missing. This was part of a long letter belonging to the convent of Santa Ana, Madrid. (Fr. A.)

[2] Canon Montoja, who resided in Rome.

General Chapter, and if God grants us the favour, you would go as Provincial, when it would be your duty. Those who are starting now would wait for you there; then we should be represented by persons who would maintain our credit. May our Lord dispose of matters as will tend to His greater glory and may He increase your sanctity and preserve your Reverence to us!

I have not had time to say anything which would cause you fresh annoyance (and with good reason). I am afraid Father Mariano[3] will be left unpunished because God considers that he is weak in courage. May His Majesty give us strength to die for Him, for this contest has certainly been one of His favours.

To-day is February 28.

Your Reverence's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

But is not this just such a letter, full of advice, as an old woman with little humility would write? God grant that some of it may be to the point! If not, let us be good friends as before.

[3] Fray Mariano had not taken part in the Visitation and was liked by the Nuncio. He was a great favourite of the King, who had lately sent him to Jerez to extract minerals from some waters there.

CCLXXIII

Avila, March 12, 1579[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

The Saint's confidence in the success of the Reform. Letters of recommendation forwarded to Rome.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with you.

I AM sorry for your trouble about our affairs, but you must know that I do not let them depress me, for I realize that our trials come from God and that He watches over them with greater care than we could give. So whatever happens, I shall be content, having prayed about the matter with some saintly souls. Perhaps what seems to us most adverse to the divine glory may contribute most to it, so do not let these matters affect you: the world is not coming to an end yet.

As soon as I see that our fathers are safe and that they are to be treated justly, there will be nothing to fear: yet even if they are treated unjustly we shall never be better off than now when we are suffering blamelessly. Moreover, they tell me that the Nuncio is a great servant of God: therefore by degrees he will investigate the truth, as will the other judges. Since we can neither interview our fathers nor send them letters, it is useless to write, though I should have liked to console them and let them know how I envy them. I received the

[1] By kind permission of P. Grégoire, this letter has been translated from the Spanish first published by him. The original is at Brussels.

letter you forwarded *via* Toledo and the one brought me by Pedro Rias, which was so disconsolate that it made me laugh and thank God for your charity in taking our affairs so much to heart. Some day we shall be able to help you in return. It was needless for the judges to declare that they would be impartial in their judgements, for they would be unjust if influenced by anything but the truth.

Doña Maria de Montoja is mistaken in thinking that we ever supposed that the letters to be given to the Canon[2] would settle our affairs, for that must remain with God. But such testimonials give credit to the petitioners by showing that they are devout and are considered to be so in Spain, and the more such witness is borne of them the better.

Doctor Rueda gave me these letters to be forwarded to His Majesty. Will you deliver them personally into his hands with my homage. I should much like to answer the Count,[3] whose hands I kiss repeatedly. We were very glad to hear that his son is well, and it is a great comfort to know that the Count is at court.

Will you entrust the letter addressed to the Prior of St. Augustine's to some who will place it in his hands, letting nobody know that either you or I have anything to do with it. I think it can do no harm. As the Discalced Franciscan Father is a great friend of mine, kindly give the letter addressed to him to a trustworthy messenger. The other is for my brother. Please hand it to some one who is going to his neighbourhood, asking him to bring

[2] Doubtless Canon Montoja.

[3] Probably the Count de Tendilla.

the answer back to you to be forwarded to me by you. Forgive me, for with the exception of the last, the letters are of importance to our Order. I find that the carriers always deliver our letters to each other safely. We need try no new routes, for as these fathers have what they want they will not watch us so closely. Always seal your missives carefully.

I think that when I see Father Gracian freed from being Visitor the rest will seem bearable. That was what kept me in perpetual torture. I should be content if a Visitor of any other Order were imposed on us as long as he was not one of those (Calced) Fathers of ours.

May God prosper our affairs as He has the power to do, and may He watch over you and those ladies to whose prayers I earnestly commend myself.

To-day is the twelfth.

Your unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXIV

Avila, some time before March 25, 1579[1]

TO FRAY MARIANO, ALCALA

Prospect of brighter days for the Reform. Warning to Fray Juan de Jesus Roca to keep in hiding. The Saint writes to the Nuncio and the king.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph!

MY Father Mariano, the account given in your letter of the Nuncio's order that the Reform

[1] Fuente Vol. iii. p. 229. Don Fuente does not consider this letter genuine because the style differs from that of the Saint. The

should be destroyed gives me unceasing pain. You tell me that, at the instance of the Calced fathers, he has made provision to that effect and that at Valladolid they tried to seize Fray Juan de Jesus, who arrived at court in a state of great depression, shared by all your Reverences, at seeing me virtually imprisoned.

May God be for ever praised, since it is His will! But now that I see the world and hell have risen against my sons, I feel such certainty that His Majesty and my Father St. Joseph will take our cause in hand that, from this day, my Father, you may hold yourself as the victor, not the vanquished. Lucifer seeks nothing less than to destroy this little flock of the Virgin. But the result will not be what he expects: on the contrary, my son, those who now persecute us will favour us. So let your grief be changed into joy. I grieve because my sons suffer on account of a sinner like myself, and are being hunted and persecuted. This is why I grieve and sigh; for as to the rest, I am assured of victory since our cause is that of God.

Will you ask Fray Juan de Jesus to return to Doña Maria de Mendoza's house at Valladolid and to remain there until I send him word. Kindly give him the enclosed letters and direct him to

original is said by the first editors to have belonged to Raymond Bru, Barcelona. It seems to have been written by a secretary in her own wording. The date and address are missing. P. Grégoire thinks that the letter is authentic and that it dates from the end of 1578 to the early part of 1579. The same may be said of the following letter which he has seen and of which he declares that the signature is undoubtedly that of St. Teresa. As a rule, the Ven. Ana de San Augustin was her secretary at Avila.

travel *via* Buitrago, not Segovia, which will be safest. And will you, my Father, go at once to the king and deliver this letter from me to him. Explain the state of affairs to him as I am also doing: you will then see whether he has the service of God at heart. Be very humble in his presence, evincing no resentment against those who have given us the opportunity of gaining merit, for we ought always to show great patience. I warn you of this, lest the point should be touched upon, for in this way difficulties will be smoothed away.

Will you wait three days before handing the Nuncio the other letter, so that the king may have had time to speak to him first. You will see how things go on, but have faith, my Father, and do not be weak enough to say that we can suffer no more, for with Christ we can do all things. Let yours be a living faith, for it is that which obtains great graces from God. I say this so that henceforth we may know that we should trust in God.

Will you call on the Princess of Pastrana on my behalf; tell her that I carried out her wishes at once, that she is not to grieve because of my imprisonment for I deserve far worse a fate, and that we shall soon see one another. I will keep the rest of my advice until we meet.

My companion[2] has no appetite; will you pray for her. She asks you to remind Fray Juan de la Miseria[3] to paint the Saint Joseph he promised her. Will you see to it for I should like every one to be as devoted to my Father, Saint Joseph.

[2] Blessed Anne of St. Bartholomew.

[3] St. Teresa did not know that he had fled to Rome.

I am well and stout, but so low-spirited because my life is all enjoyment without any penance that every one who sees me pities me. Will your Reverence pray for me and ask God to make me good. May His Majesty be praised in all and for all and may He bestow His grace and Holy Spirit on your Reverence.

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXV

Avila, March 25, 1579[1]

TO FRAY JUAN DE JESUS, VALLADOLID

Joy amidst trials. A vision foretelling the future success of the Order.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph be with the soul of my Father, Fray Juan de Jesus.

I RECEIVED your Reverence's letter in this prison in which I live very happily, since I endure all my trials for my God and my Order. What grieves me, my Father, is the suffering I bring upon your Reverences: it is this which tortures me. Therefore, my son, neither you nor the other fathers must be sorry for me, because, like St. Paul in this (though not in sanctity), I can declare that for me prisons, and trials, and persecutions, and torments, and ignominy, and affronts,

[1] Fuente Vol. III p. 232. See note 1 of preceding letter.

borne for my Christ and my Order are delights and favours.

Never have I felt more indifferent to crosses than now. God succours the prisoners and afflicted with His aid and favour. I render Him a thousand thanks, as it is right that you should all do, for the mercy He shows me in my captivity. Is there, my son and my Father,—is there any greater joy, or pleasure, or sweetness than to suffer for our good God? When were the Saints happy and satisfied with their lot except when they suffered for Christ their God? This is the safe, the most certain way to Him; in the cross must we find our joy and happiness. So, my Father, let us seek the cross and desire it: let us embrace our trials—and alas for the Discalced, alas for ourselves, if ever they fail us!

You tell me in your letter that at the instance of the Father-General, the Nuncio has ordered that no more houses of Discalced friars are to be founded and that those already established are to be suppressed; that he is highly displeased with me and speaks of me as a restless, gad-about woman; that the world is in arms against me, and that my sons are in hiding in the caves, and mountains, and most secret places, lest they should be discovered and seized. This it is that touches me and that I grieve over: I sorrow because, on account of a wicked woman and a bad nun, my sons must suffer such persecution and trials, forsaken by all men though not by God, Who will never forsake nor abandon those whom He so dearly loves.

To comfort my son and his brethren, I will tell you something very consoling, but it must be kept secret between us two and Father Mariano, who would be vexed at others knowing it, and not himself. You must know, my Father, that while a nun of this convent[2] was at prayer on the vigil of the feast of my Father, St. Joseph, she saw him in a vision with the Virgin praying to her Son for the Reform. Our Lord told the religious that hell itself, besides many people in the world, were delighted at seeing our Order destroyed, (as they thought,) but at the very moment when the Nuncio ordered its destruction, God confirmed its stability. Our Lord also bade the sister have recourse to the king, who would be a father to the Order. Our Lady and St. Joseph said the same and other things besides which cannot be stated in a letter. They also declared that, God willing, I should be freed from my imprisonment within twenty days.[3] Then let us all rejoice, for from this day the Discalced Reform will flourish.

You, my Father, should stay in Doña Maria de Mendoza's house until I write again. Father Mariano is to take one of the enclosed letters to the king and the other to the Duchess de Pastrana. But be sure your Reverence does not leave the house lest you should be arrested. We shall soon see ourselves at liberty.

[2] The Saint herself.

[3] As Father Angel de Salazar was made Visitor of the Reform on April 1, and his first act was to write a respectful letter to St. Teresa, setting her free to visit her convents, this prophecy may well have been fulfilled.

I am well and in good condition, thank God, but my companion has no appetite. Pray for us and say a Mass of thanksgiving in honour of my Father, Saint Joseph. Do not write to me until I ask you. May God make you a saint and a perfect Discalced friar!

To-day is Wednesday, March 25, 1579.

I have already informed Father Mariano that you and Father Jeronimo de la Madre de Dios are to negociate our affair in secret with the Duke del Infantado.

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXVI

Prefatory note.

After some delay, the body of assessors had sifted the true from the false statements, so that, on April 1, 1579, the Nuncio revoked the rights he had conceded to the provincials and constituted Fray Angel de Salazar Visitor of the Reform by letters patent with most minute instructions regulating the favourable treatment of the Discalced. Fray Angel, being in failing health, could not visit Andalusia in person, so made Father Gracian his delegate there. (*Found.* Introd. p. li. ch. xxviii, note 12) Fresh petitions having been presented by the Count de Tendilla, (April 26,) the body of assessors declared that the Discalced ought to be separated from the Calced and constituted as a separate province. This sentence the Nuncio transmitted, with his good will and approval, on Nov. 11, to the secretary of state of His Holiness.

Avila, the beginning of April, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

St. Teresa's delight at the prospect of seeing him soon. Father Angel Salazar nominated Vice-General of the Reform. That Mary of St. Joseph should be reinstated asprioress at Seville. Fray Juan de Jesus' journey to Rome.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my Father, and repay you for comforting me with the hope of seeing you. It would indeed console me. I beg you, for love of our Lord, to arrange for your visit, for expected pleasures are hardest to miss, and I believe that it would render God service.

With this joy in prospect I have borne bravely the election of the new superior. God grant he may enjoy the office for but a short time! Not that I wish him to die, for he is the most able among the Mitigated and will be very obliging to us, especially as, being so shrewd, he will know how matters will end. In a way, the choice is as distasteful to the Calced as to us. We who practise perfection could wish for no one more appropriate than the Nuncio, who has made us all gain in merit.

Thanks to our Lord, Fray Gregorio is already back in his own house! I shall thank Him again if your Reverence can get the Prioress of Seville reinstated, for she is certainly the right person for the post. If not, Isabel de San Francisco would do,

[1] Fuente 236. The autograph is at the Carmelite convent, Henares. The last part is missing.

for the present prioress is ridiculous and will ruin the house. May God guide the choice as serves Him best and may He reward your Reverence for your care of those poor strangers![2] It must be a great relief for them to be free from the Provincial of the cloth so that they can write and receive letters. I sent them one by the Prior of las Cuevas; I should not be sorry if it fell into the hand of the Provincial as I intended when I wrote it.

Our traveller[3] has got ready very quickly: the more I see of him, the more confidence I feel in his success. We had a discussion because I wished a duplicate copy made of the letter to the king to be sent by the first courier who starts to Canon Montoya, with a letter I am addressing to his mother, asking her to forward it. I am telling him that the royal letter will either be given to him at the same time or delivered later on by two fathers who are on their way to proffer their obedience to our Father the Vicar-General.[4] I think that in so important a matter it is best to send two copies of the letter by different routes, as we are uncertain whether our traveller will reach Rome safely, and it would be terrible for us, in the present condition of affairs, to wait for a second journey. Moreover, since the Canon has taken up our cause, it would

[2] The Castilian nuns of Seville. Beatriz de la Madre de Dios was then prioress.

[3] Evidently Fray Juan de Jesus (de Roca) who visited the Saint at Avila before starting for Rome. See Prefatory note of the letter dated Dec. 28, 1578. The two Discalced fathers bore with them the letters of submission signed by the members of the Reform. They also took with them letters of recommendation from Philip II to the Holy See, besides petitions and other important documents.

[4] Cafardo had been Vicar-General since the death of Rubeo.

be well not to set him aside, for as time goes on he will prove a good friend to us in many ways. The affair is not so easy to manage that such precautions are needless. I believe it would be best to leave the business to him, and to let the two fathers go straight to the Vicar-General. I feel little confidence in the secret's being kept, and if the fathers mention it to one another and the Vicar-General hears of it, he would probably be annoyed at their not having had recourse to him first. Nothing of the kind would happen with the Canon.

Fray Juan asks what reason there would be for his going to Rome if Canon Montoya takes the matter in hand. The excellent reason is that perhaps there may be need of both of them.

Let us hope that Fray Juan will find these matters settled when he reaches Rome. However it will be no small advantage that the superiors there should meet with more observant and strict religious than they have seen before. The two fathers could also justify us to the Vicar-General. He thinks that . . .

CCLXXVII

Avila, April, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Concerning the two nuns who had caused the scandal at Seville.

. . . I am amazed and grieved at these two souls: may God convert them ! It seems as though all the

[1] Fuente 237. The accusation had been laid before the Royal Council: the defence of Father Gracian and Mary of St. Joseph was

furies of hell had met at the Seville convent to deceive and blind people both within and outside it. I assure your Paternity that, from the moment I heard of the trial, my one fear was of that which has come to pass—that some calumny should be brought against Paul. That unprincipled deputy-Prioress had always fostered certain grave slanders, and this dread has beset me for days. O Jesus, how it has distressed me! No trial through which we have passed is of any account compared with this. God has indeed taught us how little we should depend on creatures, however good they may be, and that we ought to be wary and less simple. God grant that this may suffice for Paul and myself! . . .

CCLXXVIII

Avila, April 21, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA OR PASTRANA

Joy at the prospect of a speedy meeting. Profession of his sister Maria de San José. The nuns of Seville and Father Alvarez.

Jesus be with your Paternity, my Father.

I HAD written the enclosed letter when yours arrived. May God have given you as happy an Easter as I wished and as your daughters prayed for here! God be praised for so arranging matters

undertaken by Father Nicolas Doria. The two accusers were Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and Margarita de la Concepcion.

[1] Fuente 238. As the letter is addressed to 'My Father Paul, in the grotto of Elias,' Father Gracian does not seem to have been liberated by the Nuncio at this date.

that there will be an end of your long absences, so that poor Angela will be able to speak of her soul, for since you have been away she has never been able to obtain relief from any one else. We have indeed had to contend with troubles in every way. I think that you must have had the larger share since our Lord has so quickly rewarded you by allowing you to help so many souls.

Doña Juana[2] has just written to me concerning our Sister Maria de San José, but does not mention you. Although she says she was pressed for time, I complain of this omission. I told the Prioress of Valladolid to profess your sister as soon as her year's noviciate had expired. She answered that she had never thought of taking any other course until I wrote postponing the profession. In fact, it appeared to me that the delay mattered little if it meant that your Paternity would perform the ceremony, but the present arrangement is best. Since we have such certain hopes of a separate province, I agree with the Prioress that all will be well.

My brother kisses your hand. Little Teresica is very happy and as childlike as ever.

I feel rather relieved about Seville, as the Calced can no longer interfere with that community. The Archbishop[3] writes saying that the Discalced fathers were in a very difficult position when the documents arrived and were delighted to get them. They hear the nuns' confessions, and the Father-Vicar, Fray Angel, tells me that Father Nicolas will go

[2] Father Gracian's mother. His sister Maria de San José was professed in May, at Valladolid.

[3] Don Cristobal de Rojas y Sandoval, Archbishop of Seville.

there in a month's time to restore active and passive voice to Mother Mary of St. Joseph and put her back in her proper rank and to hold an election. From what Father Nicolas writes, I gather that the sisters are very prudent which will set a good example to the Order. He must see me before going to Seville, so that I may the better understand what has passed there and may give him some advice for Mother Mary of St. Joseph, in case she should be re-elected prioress. Father Garci Alvarez no longer visits the convent: he says he has been forbidden by the Archbishop. May God bring the matter right and soon give me the opportunity of fully discussing many matters with your Paternity.

I feel sure that you must be in great favour with Father Joseph[4]: that is the important thing. I am amused at hearing that you wish for more crosses: for God's sake leave us without them, for you do not bear them alone! Let us rest for a few days. I know that a person who has once enjoyed them, realizes that there is no more nourishing food for the soul, but not being sure whether these trials would extend to others besides him who asks for them, I cannot desire them. I mean that there ought to be a great difference between enduring suffering ourselves and seeing our neighbour suffer. This question must be explained to me by your Paternity when we meet. May our Lord enable us to serve Him well in whatever way He wishes,and may He preserve your Paternity to us for many years and make you as saintly as I ask of Him! Amen.

[4] Our Lord.

I wrote to Valladolid, telling the prioress that she need not write to Doña Juana for the payment of your sister's dowry, as it was not to be sent until after profession, and even that was left undecided. Since the nuns received her without a portion, they cannot complain if it is not given, and in other convents the sisters ask God for what they need. I said no more and sent the prioress your letter addressed to Doña Juana. The matter is satisfactorily arranged for the present. I should not like your mother to mention the affair to Fray Angel, close friends as they are, as there is no need for it at present. Your Paternity knows the way of the world and how easily friendships are dissolved. I think that in one of your letters you gave me to understand that this had already happened but you may have been alluding to something else. In any case, will you caution Doña Juana. Abide with God, and do not so neglect me as to forget to pray for me to His Majesty, but when you bear other souls in mind, remember that you have to render an account to God of mine.

This is the last day of Easter week.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant and daughter,

Teresa de Jesus.

Will you tell Doña Juana the date of the profession, as I have no time to write to her. I so dread speaking of the matter I mentioned that I rarely allude to it, nor shall I in future. I have answered my daughter, Maria de San José. It would be a great comfort to have her with me, but our Lord will allow me no solace.

CCLXXIX

Avila, May 2, 1579[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

Journey of Fray Juan de Jesus Roca to Rome. The Nuncio's four assessors.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Ghost be with your Honour.

I have received your letters and Joseph Bullon's:[2] our Lord be his guard! for it is trying to see him go so far away, but as the necessity is great, it must be endured. We all owe much to him: his virtues and talents deserve respect. May God prosper him. I entreat you to tell me when and how he starts. I cannot endure the suspense until he leaves this country, considering how he is travelling, lest any misfortune should happen to us: at such a juncture it would be terrible.

God reward you for your good tidings! I assure you that since those two señores and my friends the Dominican fathers have been appointed assessors,[3] all anxiety about our affair has left me as I know them personally. I feel certain that, with

[1] Fuente 239. Vol. v, no 15. The autograph cannot be found.

[2] Fray Juan Jesus de Roca, took the title of José Bullon, a family name. He and his companions went to Rome disguised as solicitors bent on obtaining a dispensation for the marriage of Don Francisco Bracamente. The latter, a gentleman of Avila, presented Fray Juan with a costume, sword, mule, and 400 ducats. The two friars spent a year in Rome collecting all the evidence and documents required.

[3] The Dominican assessors were Fray Hernando de Castile and Pedro Hernandez. See letter of Dec. 28, 1578. Pref. note.

four such men, what they settle will be for the honour and glory of God, which is our sole object.

What troubles me now is the case of those fathers, for such vile accusations are very painful to nuns who wear the same habit. May God remedy the matter and protect and repay you for your good-will and kindness to this Order, for which I give our Lord sincere thanks. Where charity exists, His Majesty finds work for it. May He watch over you and Doña Maria and make you both very holy, as I do not neglect to ask of Him, wretch though I am.

To-day is May 2.

Your unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXX

Avila, May 3, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER ISABEL DE SAN JERONIMO AND MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH[2]

Congratulations on the community's being freed from the dominion of the Calced and the cessation of their persecutions. Advice as how to treat the two sisters who brought about the troubles.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my daughter.

I RECEIVED the letters from you and my daughters the day before yesterday. O Jesus! What a comfort it would be to be with you now, as it would have been in the past, so that I might have shared the abundant treasures our Lord lavished on you! May He be praised for ever! Amen.

Great as was my affection for your Reverence and the rest, it has doubled now, particularly for you who have borne the brunt of the troubles. But it is true I was specially pleased at hearing that you had been deprived of your voice and office, for though I realize that my daughter Joseph is very faulty, I know that she fears God and would never have done anything which deserved such punishment.

I sent a letter to your community by my Father,

[1] Fuente 240. At one time this letter was not supposed to be authentic but the autograph in St. Teresa's handwriting has been discovered in the Carmelite convent of Boadilla del Monte.

[2] This is the address, but the letter is specially meant for Mary of St. Joseph.

the Prior of las Cuevas, to be delivered as he thought best. Did he receive it and the other one addressed to himself? Also, to whom did he give charge of your letters? I wish to know whether I must rewrite it. When Father Nicolas heard of what had happened to his brother's letter, he tore it up. You owe much to him, but you have made a more favourable impression on him than on Father Garci Alvarez. I am sorry that the latter does not say Mass at your convent now, but the loss is yours, as it used to give him great trouble. We certainly owe much to him, but I do not know how to bring him back. If the Archbishop would not bid him return when asked by the Prior of las Cuevas and Father Mariano, I know of no one to whom he would listen. I was annoyed at Father Mariano's notes. How could he think of introducing such a thing into your house, much less of carrying it out? The fact is, the devil is so furious with us that he has tried to injure us in every way, especially . . .[3] the greatest trial of all.

It seems now as though our Lord were about to curtail his liberty and I hope that by degrees He will bring the truth to light. Small regard has been paid to it in your convent. I was deeply grieved at hearing what charges had been brought in the deposition, many of which I knew to be absolutely false as I was there at the time to which they referred. What I have discovered since about these nuns has made me thank God heartily that He did not allow them to invent anything worse.

[3] A few words here are illegible.

These two souls distress me greatly[4]: we must all ask God specially to give them light. Ever since Father Garci-Alvarez behaved in the way of which you know, I have dreaded what has come to pass. Your Reverence may remember that I wrote to you twice, saying that I thought the mischief came from inside the house. I named one of the culprits but did not suspect Sister Margarita, who was on her guard. To tell the truth, I was never satisfied with the former nun though I sometimes thought it was a temptation coming from my evil nature. I mentioned the matter to Father Gracian as he had so much to do with her, in order that he might watch her. Therefore, I am not much surprised at her behaviour: not that I thought she was bad but that she was subject to illusions, had a strong imagination, and was the sort of person to be tricked by the devil as she has been. He knows well how to take advantage of people's characters and want of sense. In fact, we ought not so much to blame her as to feel genuine pity for her. In her case, I must beg your Reverence and the nuns to have the charity to do as I asked them, which I believe is the best course to take. Let them thank God for not permitting the demon to tempt any of them so terribly, and let them think, as St. Augustine says, that in the same position we should have done worse if tempted as they were.

My daughters, you must not lose what you have gained: remember how St. Catharine of Siena[5]

[4] Sisters Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and Margarita de la Concepcion.

[5] Andrea, a sister of penance, was dying of so terrible a cancer that no one but St. Catharine would nurse her. In return for the Saint's

treated the woman who defamed her character. Let us fear, yes, let us *fear*, my sisters, for if God withdrew His hand from us, what sin might we not commit? Believe me, that sister had neither the imagination nor the brains to invent such tales, so the devil gave her a companion, whom he certainly must have taught what she said. God be with her!

First of all, I wish you to pray fervently and constantly for her, in fact, if possible continually, as we are doing here, asking God to favour us by enlightening her, so that the devil may allow her to escape from the hallucination under which he holds her. I look upon her as partially insane. People are to be met with (although not in our convents) whose imagination is so strong that they fancy they see whatever their mind pictures to them. The bad spirit must have a hand in it. I fear he must have made this sister believe she saw what he thought would be most likely to ruin your house. In that case, she would not be so much to blame as we suppose. If a madman really feels convinced that he is God the Father, nothing will drive the idea out of his head. My daughters, you must manifest your love for God by showing as much compassion to this nun as though she were the child of your own father as she is of our true Father, to Whom we owe so much, and Whom the poor little creature desired to serve all her life. Pray, sisters,

charity, the sick woman brought shameful charges against her, but St. Catharine only treated her more tenderly than before. At last her accuser repented and besought her pardon. St. Catharine said she bore her no grudge, the devil having deceived her, and thanked Andrea for reminding her to be more watchful over herself.

pray for her, for many a saint falls and returns to the right path. Perhaps she needed this to humble her. If God grants us the grace of showing her she was wrong and if she retracts her words, we shall all have gained by her sufferings, as even she may do, for He knows how to draw good out of evil.

My second request is that, for the present, you must not dream of her leaving your convent: it would be a serious mistake and inexpedient in every way. You think that you would avoid difficulties by it, but they would increase. Wait awhile; this is not the time for such a change, for many reasons I could state: I am surprised that they should not have occurred to your Reverence. Think the matter over and God will reveal them to you. Trust in Him and in us, who are considering more fully what is best for the house. Do not mention the subject at present or even think about it if you can help it.

The third thing I ask of you is not to show any dislike to the sister but to be kinder to her than ever. Let all be pleasant and sisterly to her and to the other nun. Try to forget the past and think how they would like to be treated, were they in the same position. Be sure that this soul will be cruelly tormented, though no one may know of it, for the devil will be furious at not having succeeded better. He may make use of her to commit some crime that would destroy her soul and her reason; perhaps the latter could easily be done. This is what we must all bear in mind and not what she has done. The devil may have made her believe that she was benefiting her soul and rendering God great service.

Never mention the matter before her mother[6] whom I pity sincerely. Why did no one tell me how she bore it and what she said to her daughter? I wanted to know that, and whether she understood her intrigues.

I am afraid the evil one may tempt the two sisters in another way by making them fancy they are disliked and ill-treated. I should be exceedingly annoyed if any grounds were given for it. A letter has reached me already stating that the Fathers of the Company (of Jesus) think it wrong that she is being harshly treated. You must all be very cautious.

My fourth request is that neither this sister nor any other nun is to be allowed to talk to persons outside the convent except in the presence of a second nun, who is to be on her guard, neither must the community confess to any priest except a Discalced friar. Let them choose whichever they like, as the Father Vicar-General has given the friars leave to hear your confessions. Be careful that the two sisters do not plot together secretly. Do not be severe with them in any way, for we women are weak until God brings us back to the right path. It would not be a bad plan to put Beatriz into some office in which she would have nothing to do with outsiders, for solitude and reflection on the past would harm her greatly; so let those who see that they can benefit her, keep her company sometimes.

I expect that Father Nicolas will call on us before going to Seville. I hope he will come soon

[6] Juana de la Cruz, who entered the convent as a lay sister. (*Found.* xxvi.)

as we can discuss the matter more fully. For charity's sake, do as I ask you. In any case, those who sincerely long for sufferings bear no grudge against people who injure them, but love them better. This will prove whether their trial has improved the nuns. I trust that our Lord will soon set things right and restore the convent to its former state, in fact, to a better state, for His Majesty always repays a hundred-fold. I beg all of you again most earnestly, not to mention the past to one another, for it could do no good but very much harm.

You must behave most prudently in future for, as I said, I dread lest the devil may play us the trick of persuading poor foolish little Beatriz to leave the convent. I am not without the same misgivings about Sister Margarita, but she has more sense. Be very watchful, especially at night, for the evil one is trying to injure the reputation of our convents and sometimes renders possible what seemed impossible.

If the two sisters ceased to be friends, or quarrelled we might get to the root of the matter and there would be some chance of convincing them of their mistake. Your Reverence will understand that the closer friends they are, the more they will scheme together. Prayer can do much: so I hope that the Master will enlighten them, for they grieve me greatly.

It would not be a bad plan to have an account written of the whole affair: it would serve as a warning for the future since, on account of my sins, we have not learnt from other people's experience.

But if Sister San Francisco is the historian, she must not exaggerate but make a perfectly simple statement. My daughter Gabriela must copy it out.

I should like to write to the whole community, but my head is not fit for it. I send you all many blessings. May you be blessed by our Lady the Virgin and by the most Holy Trinity! The whole Order is indebted to your nuns, especially to those not yet professed; they have given ample proof of being its loyal daughters and I beg the other sisters to pray that they may indeed be so in the future. Let all who wrote to me take this letter as their answer. Although addressed to Mother Mary of St. Joseph and the Mother Vicaress, it is meant for every one.

I wish I could have written to my Sister Jeronimo.[7] Tell her she need grieve more for loss of credit to the convent through Father Garci Alvarez' having left it than for his reputation, for he is well known in Seville. It is on the unfortunate strangers that all the blame will fall, for people will think that though he may be partly at fault, the nuns cannot be exempt. As I said, I know that he bears a good character, and as for the rest, he is saved much trouble. Decidedly we cannot exaggerate what he has undergone for us and what we owe to him, which God alone can repay. Remember me very kindly to him, I should have written a long letter to him, had my head been equal to it. However, as I could not say what I wish in pen and ink, I am not writing to him, though I should have the right to complain, for though other people

[7] A cousin of Father Garci Alvarez.

knew what great evils these blessed women (*benditas*) were charging the convent with, nothing was said to me. It would not have been much if I had asked you to tell me, from time to time, what was being done, considering that I had to bear the brunt of it, instead of your waiting until the matter was remedied by those who bear little love for us, as all the world knows. However, after all, truth may suffer but cannot perish, so I hope God will make it more evident.

Remember me to the good Serrano: I hope the time will come when we can repay all we owe him. Give very friendly messages from me to the saintly Prior of las Cuevas. Oh, that I could spend a day with him! May God have you all in His keeping for me and make you as holy as I wish! Amen.

The sisters here have wept over your troubles more than I have, and earnestly beg for your prayers. I will write again soon. As for Mother St. Joseph's affair about which you ask me to pray, perhaps it will be settled before this letter reaches you.[8] You are doing well now: do not be in a hurry. There is no need to have the election before we send you word from here: we are not neglecting it.

If Father Mariano is at Seville, show him this letter and ask him to return it. I am not writing to him as I do not think my letter would reach him. Remember me kindly to Fray Gregorio: I should very much like to hear from him. I do not know what to say about Mass; do not be hasty about it. If there is no one to say it, do not die of grief: be

[8] The reinstatement of Mary of St. Joseph as prioress.

content with having Mass on Sundays until God provides it more often. It will give you a chance of gaining merit.

I am fairly well. Father Julian de Avila has felt your trials keenly.[9] I believe that if he thought he could help you, he would gladly go to Seville. He asks your prayers earnestly. God give you strength to suffer more and more, for you have not yet shed your blood for Him Who gave all His for you. I say this because we have not been idle here.

To-day is the Feast of the Cross.[10]

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

Oh, how my brother has sympathised with your troubles! I had to console him. Pray for him, for you owe it to him. All the advice given in her letter by the Mother Vicaress, Isabel de St. Jeromino seems to be very sensible, and shows more courage than Mother Saint Joseph possesses.

Remember me to Sister Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and tell her I am glad she is free from work, for she told me in one of her letters how much that office gave her. Say many kind things from me to Sister Juan de la Cruz.

[9] Having assisted at the foundation of the convent of Seville, Father Julian took a special interest in it.

[10] The Invention of the Cross.

CCLXXXI

Avila, the end of May, 1579[1]

TO THE MOTHER PRIORESS AND THE NUNS OF VALLADOLID

A request for two hundred ducats for the Discalced fathers who had gone to Rome. Dowry of Father Gracian's sister, Maria de San José.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Ghost be with your Reverence, my Mother, and with all my dear sisters!

I WISH to remind you that, as far as I can remember I have never asked you either to admit a novice without a dowry, or to grant me any other favour of much importance. This has not been the case with other convents, for one has received as many as eleven penniless nuns and is none the worse for that—in fact, it is the most flourishing.

I want to ask you for something which you are bound to give for the good of the Order and for several other reasons. Though it is to your own advantage, I choose to take it as a personal favour and you must consider it as done to me, for I am very anxious lest what is important for the service of God and our peace, should fail for want of funds.

The enclosed letters from a Discalced father, the Prior del Calvario, now in Rome, will show how urgently he begs us to send him two hundred

[1] Fuente 241. The autograph belonged to the Valladolid collection but was given by the nuns to the community at Calahorra. This letter is addressed: 'to the Mother Prioress and my sisters and daughters of Mount Carmel in the convent of Valladolid.'

ducats at once. The Discalced friars, having no superior, can do nothing. They could give so little help to Fray Juan de Jesus and the Prior of Pastrana, who have also gone to Rome (though I have not heard whether they have yet arrived), that the latter took with them a hundred and fifty ducats from our house at Veas, besides the sum I had already furnished. It is a great favour from our Lord that some of our convents can supply their needs. After all, it is only once in a lifetime.

Father Nicolas writes from Madrid saying that he has found some one who, out of regard for him, will advance the two hundred ducats on the dowry of Sister Maria de San José if the convent will give him a receipt for the sum. That will suffice, even though there should be delay in repaying him. I think this is very fortunate and beg you as a charity to send for a lawyer when you receive this letter. Let him draw out the form of her profession as though she were already professed in a business-like manner (as otherwise nothing can be done) and forward it to me at once with the bill of promise. The two documents must be drawn out separately and not on the same sheet of paper. You see the importance of there being no delay.

If you think that it is a large sum and wonder why the other convents do not take their share, I assure you that each one is doing all it possibly can, and those, like this community, who can give nothing, give nothing. We all wear the same habit because we help one another; for whatever belongs to one, belongs to all, and she gives much who gives all she can. You would be astonished if you knew how

heavy the expenses are. Sister Catalina de Jesus could tell you. If the convents do not provide the money, I can earn nothing with my maimed hand, though it costs me far more to collect and beg for contributions — indeed, it is a torment I could undergo for no one but God.[2]

Besides this, I have still to ask for another two hundred ducats promised to Canon Montoya, who has kept us alive. God grant that sum may suffice and that no more money may be needed! However it is a great mercy that money can purchase us such peace. What I have already asked you for is indispensable: the gift for which I am about to beg I leave to your good will, though the request seems to me reasonable and one of which both God and the world would approve.

As you are aware, you received Sister Maria de San José without a dowry for the sake of her brother, Father Gracian. I have learnt that her mother (who was very short of money) postponed her daughter's entrance into your convent until arrangements had been made that she should have four hundred ducats. Doña Juana thought that you would extend the charity you had shown Father Gracian and that she would be able to settle her own money difficulties with the dower money, for, as I said, she stands in need of it.

I am not astonished at her feeling its loss, though

[2] The studied, strained style of this letter shows what an effort it cost the Saint. However, the money was sent gladly and without delay, as the next letter testifies. As regards the treatment of the two offenders, Fuente says: that not only for its sublime charity, but for the wisdom and human prudence of the Saint's advice, this letter is, in his opinion, one of the most interesting of the collection.

she is so good-hearted that she is always expressing her gratitude to you for what you have done. The enclosed letter from the Father Master Gracian will show your Reverence that a hundred ducats is to be discounted on account of the expense to which the girl has put her mother, so that your account should come to three hundred ducats. You must reckon little on what the sister will inherit, as her parents' income consists solely of what the king allows them—not a regular salary—and will cease when the secretary dies. Should any property remain, it will have to be divided among so many children that, as Doña Juana wrote to say, it is not worth reckoning. I do not know whether I have kept her letter: if I find it, I will send it to you. In short, the receipt ought to be for at least three hundred ducats. In my opinion, you would do well to acquit her of the whole four hundred ducats, as she will none the less send you the other hundred when she has them. Even if she did not, she has earned them well by the terrible trials she has passed through on account of her son in one way or another ever since the day he began his visitations, not to mention what we owe to Father Gracian. Many a dowerless nun has been received into the Order with much less reason than we have for taking one for his sake.

The nuns at Toledo asked neither for bed, trousseau, habit, nor anything else with his sister who entered there, nor was anything given her, and they would have been very glad to receive Sister Maria de San José on the same terms if she had chosen their house. God has bestowed such

characters and talents on this family that the nuns prefer them to other girls with dowries. As I said, you must do as you judge best about the hundred ducats, but there is no choice about the other sum as the necessity is urgent.

When once our affairs are settled, an examination must be made as to what each house has contributed and the surplus money returned to those who have given more than their proper share, which will be your own case. Let us help one another now as far as we can. I ask the Mother Prioress not to oppose the sisters' wishes, for I feel sure that they are no less loyal daughters of the Order than other nuns who are doing their utmost. May God make them as holy as I pray of Him! Amen.

Your servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

In any case, tell Sister Catalina de Jesus to read this letter before all the sisters, and I shall be greatly displeased if she omits a word. The same is to be done with the enclosed letter from Rome.

CCLXXXII

Prefatory note.

Fray Angel de Salazar had told Saint Teresa to go to Malagon where the nuns were in trouble and to take the office of prioress there, but was persuaded by Father Gracian to choose another nun for that post. However, he desired her to go to Malagon, calling on the journey at the houses of Medina, Valladolid, Alba, and Salamanca. It was at the request of Bishop de Mendoza and his sister who were in trouble that she was sent to comfort them at Valladolid. The patent to be confirmed was for

the foundation of the house at Villanueva which took place on February 21, 1580. Saint Teresa was now a confirmed invalid of sixty-four years of age, with a crippled arm.

Avila, June 9, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER MARY BAPTIST, PRIORESS OF VALLADOLID.

Thanks for money for the cause of the Reform at Rome. The Saint's intended visit to Valladolid and Salamanca and the foundation at Villanueva. Casilda's relatives refuse to pay her dowry.

JESUS!

MAY the Holy Ghost be with your Reverence and repay you and all the sisters for the happy feast (*buenas Pascuas*) you have given me by sending the quittance so willingly. It came just in time, for the messenger from Madrid had not started to return there, which, as the fathers had written urging me to be prompt, I look upon as the greatest good fortune. I assure you that had the money been sent for my own food, I should not have felt more grateful. You have behaved like generous souls and done a signal favour. May the Holy Ghost reward you! I can promise you that God will give you far more in return. Read this part of my letter to the community: I send the kindest messages to all of them. I told those at Madrid what you said, so that they might know what they possess in you.

I have written much to-day, and it is so late that I can say little more. In the first place, for

[1] Fuente 242. The autograph belongs to the Seville collection. (Fr. A.)

charity's sake take care of your health, so that I may find you well if God lets me visit you, as the Father Vicar, Fray Angel, hints in his letter that I may hope to do. It would be for so short a time that I should not like it as I should be going many leagues out of the way only to have the pain of leaving immediately. He writes: 'I think that you would deserve well if you called at Malagon, where I would confirm in writing the patent I have given for the convent, by which you would gain more merits than if you founded it. On your way, you could call on those señores to console them as they ask of you.' He encloses the bishop's letter and requests me to start for Salamanca directly afterwards to buy the house for the nuns there.

You must know, my daughter, that they stand in the greatest need of it, yet they are as silent as the dead, which lays a still stricter obligation on me. See what a poor old crone I am, yet I am to start at once for Malagon! I assure you it makes me laugh, yet I have courage for more than that. May God prosper the plan! Perhaps our despatches may arrive before I have done with Salamanca, in which case I could stay with you a little longer, as some one else could settle affairs at Malagon.

Many persons suspect that perhaps the Calced friars would be glad to have me at such a distance, and grounds for the idea are not wanting. No doubt his Paternity[1] would not be sorry at my removal from the neighbourhood of the Incarnation. Indeed time is needed for the affairs of the different convents, and people will have no chance of finding

[1] Fray Angel de Salazar.

fault with my journey as though there were no genuine reason for making it. May the Master direct matters in the way in which I can serve Him best!

Father Angel bids me look on this as merely the preliminary sketch, because he must consult Fray Pedro Hernandez before anything can be done. He will explain matters more fully on writing to the Bishop. He wishes to please those señores *in every way*, and is so exceedingly kind-hearted that he really cannot tell when to say no.

He has approved of the college for Discalced friars[3] but not of the convent for nuns. The decision was not his own—Fray Antonio de Jesus and the Prior of la Roda thought the convent undesirable, much to my delight, for I have refused it several times on account of the eight *beatas* there, as I should prefer making four foundations.

Fray Pedro Hernandez strongly insists on our founding no more houses, even though we should obtain the authorization, until we have a separate province. For this he gives strong reasons, as people have written to tell me. As the Nuncio is so irritated, and others are prejudicing him against us, it might do harm: we must consider well before we act.

I am vexed at all this commotion about Casilda's dowry: it will result in her getting nothing at all. In my opinion they ought merely to have given you the two thousand five hundred ducats they

[3] The college of Salamanca was founded by Father Gracian on June 1, 1581. The convent was that of Villanueva. See *Found.* ch. XXVIII, note 14.

promised, or at least two thousand. What is the use of such a disturbance! So small a sum should never cause such disputes. . .[4]

CCLXXXIII

Avila, June 10, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

The Saint's wish for a separate province. Journey of the 'poor old crone' to Malagon. Her loneliness. Payment of money by Valladolid nuns.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father, and may He have granted you this Whitsuntide all the graces and gifts you need to serve Him as you ought, in return for His having chosen you to help His people at such cost to yourself. Thank God for it! There certainly is much to reflect on and write about this history. Though I do not know the details about the conclusion, it must have been very satisfactory. At all events, if God allows us to have a separate province, none in Spain will have been granted with such deliberation and authority, which implies that He has destined the Discalced for a greater work than we imagine. May His Majesty spare Paul to us for many years that he may enjoy our prosperity and may work while I watch him from heaven, if I deserve to get there!

[4] The rest of the letter is missing.

[1] Fuente 243. It is believed that the original was at Alcala.

They have sent me the receipt from Valladolid. I am exceedingly glad that the money is being forwarded. God grant the business may be settled quickly, for though our present Superior[2] is very good, he is not the man to clench the matter satisfactorily: in fact, he is only a substitute.

The enclosed letter will show your Paternity what is required of the poor old crone. It may be only suspicion, but it appears to me as though these brethren of mine were more anxious about getting me at a distance than about the needs of Malagon. I felt rather hurt though I do not mind going to Malagon. But I should not like to be made prioress, as I am not fit for it, and I should be afraid of failing in our Lord's service. Will your Paternity beg Him that I may always be perfect in that, and then let come what may, for the more work, the greater gains.

In any case, will your Paternity tear up the enclosed letter. It is a great comfort that you are well, but I should not like you to be where you are now in the hot weather. Oh! My soul grows lonelier every day away from your Paternity, though it always seems to be near Father Joseph[3]—and so life passes, with no earthly joys but in ceaseless torment. You ought not to belong to this world after the reasons for detachment God has given you, and the many means of keeping your mind in heaven. In fact, the more I think over this trouble and the means God has taken to overcome it, the more I am lost in wonder. If He is pleased that

[2] Fray Angel de Salazar.
[3] Our Lord.

these Andalusians should be corrected in any way, I should look upon it as a special grace that it was not by your hands, as it would not be right for you to treat them severely though it would have benefited them. This has always been my wish. I was much pleased with what Father Nicolas wrote on the matter; I send you his letter.

All the sisters here beg for your prayers. They are deeply grieved at the thought of my leaving them: I will let you know what happens. Of your charity, pray much for me. You will remember the complaints made about my journeys and who were their authors.[4] What a life I lead! However that is of little consequence.

I wrote to the Father Vicar yesterday, stating that my inability to lead the community life would be a drawback to my being made Prioress, otherwise I should have no objection to be there: I would go to the end of the world under obedience. Indeed, I believe that the harder the work, the better I should be pleased at being able to render any trifling service to this great God to Whom I owe so much. I certainly think we serve Him better when we act solely out of obedience. As for my Paul, I should be pleased to do anything that gave him pleasure.

I could tell him many things that would please him, but am afraid to trust them to a letter, especi-

[4] It was Fray Angel de Salazar himself, who was now sending St. Teresa forth on this journey under pain of excommunication, who had blamed her for travelling in the past, declaring it was contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent and that she must not leave her convent to make foundations. (See letter to Father Gracian, Oct. 21, 1576).

ally those relating to my soul. I enclose these verses from the Incarnation to make you laugh—though there is more cause for tears at the present state of the house. These poor nuns try to cheer each other. They would be very sorry if I left Avila, as they still have hopes (which I share) that matters may come right with their convent.

The sisters at Valladolid were happy to send the two hundred ducats, and so was the Prioress. She would have borrowed them if need be, and has given me the quittance for the whole four hundred. I was highly gratified, as she is really fond of amassing money for her house. But I wrote her such a letter! I was amused and astonished at seeing how Doña Juana understood her character, for she wrote telling me that she felt misgivings because the Prioress had forwarded the money without a word. To tell the truth, I have always found Mother Baptist very well disposed as regards Maria de San José which proves her liking for your Paternity.

May God have you in His keeping, my Father! Amen, amen.

Remember me kindly to the Father Rector and to the father who wrote to me the other day. Yesterday was the last day of Whitsuntide. I have not come to my last day even yet!

Your Paternity's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXXIV

Avila, June 18, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER ANA DE LA ENCARNACION, PRIORESS OF SALAMANCA.

The Saint's journey to Salamanca. Don Andrea de Ximene and Isabel de Jesus.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence!

TO-DAY, the feast of Corpus Christi, I received from the Father Vicar, Fray Angel, the enclosed letter for your Reverence and a formal order to go to your convent. God grant you have not managed the matter! I am told that it is the request of Don Luis Manrique. But, if it will help to settle your affairs peacefully, I am quite willing, and I only wish that I could go to you at once, but his Paternity has told me to visit Valladolid first. Doubtless he could take no other course; most certainly I had nothing to do with it, for, between ourselves, I have done all that was lawfully possible to avoid the journey, as it seemed to me unnecessary at present. However, he who holds the place of God knows best. His Paternity tells me to shorten my stay at Valladolid, but even then, I must be there the whole of next month, and God grant that may suffice.

I do not think the delay will be of much consequence to you. Keep the visit a secret from Pedro

[1] Fuente 244.

de la Vanda[2] for he would kill us all with his arrangements, and it is best that he should make none.

If anything happens, you can write to me at Valladolid. Your letters have not arrived and the student's father is searching everywhere for him. Do not be distressed about me, for I shall be in the neighbourhood of Father Baltasar Alvarez. I am glad to hear that the Bishop of Salamanca is well again.

Tell Sister Isabel de Jesus[3] that I am deeply grieved to hear of her illness. I have written to the Prioress of Segovia telling her to ask Señor Andrés de Jimena to come here at once if he wishes to speak to me: I do not know whether he will. The Father Vicar has written authorizing me to settle the matter. I hope the señor will not fail to come, for, with God's grace, we shall not quarrel, as I only wish to serve and please Him.

Tell my dear Isabel de Jesus that I do not want to find her an invalid: I wish her health of body, and am content with the state of her soul. Kindly tell her this. The messenger is waiting so I can say no more, except to beg God to protect you and to ask to be remembered to all the nuns.

To-day is the feast of Corpus Christi.

The servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

[2] See letters of August 2 and October 6, 1573.

[3] Isabel de Jesus was the novice whose song threw St. Teresa into an ecstasy. Don Andrés de Jimena, her brother, had taken the house for the convent at Segovia. (*Found.* ch. xxi, 2-4.) The business he had now to arrange may have had something to do with the gift brought by his sister to the convent of Salamanca. See letter to her written at the beginning of 1572.

CCLXXXV

Avila, June 21, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER MARY BAPTIST, PRIORESS OF VALLADOLID

The Saint's visits to Valladolid and Medina. Casilda's dowry.

Jesus be with your Reverence.

MUCH as I tried to despatch this letter quickly, it will be late in leaving, as there is a Mass of obligation to-day and I have had a visit from Father Nicolas, whom I was very glad to see.

I am forwarding your letter to our Father Vicar and stating the apparent advantages and reasons for his granting you the permission, also why you did not receive Ana de Jesus. I always feel misgivings about those large fortunes, though from what you tell me about the girl, she seems really called by God. May it render Him good service. Amen. Greet her warmly from me, and say I am very glad that I shall see her soon.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of Doña Maria's illness. God grant her health, as I beg of Him; for when I am separated from her, I realize how tenderly I love her.

You must know that on the feast of Corpus Christi I received a formal order to visit your convent under such pains of censure and disobedience as to ensure that the Bishop's wish and the request he made of his Paternity should be carried

[1] Fuente 245.

out. Therefore, I intend leaving here a day or two after St. John's feast.

Will you be kind enough to forward to Medina a letter that our Father Vicar is writing to you, as I must see it when I arrive there. Tell the sisters of that convent not to make a ceremony of my reception. I ask the same of your Reverence, for I assure you it mortifies instead of pleasing me. This is the fact, for I feel confounded at thinking how undeserving I am, and the more they do, the more deeply I feel it. Remember, you must do as I wish unless you wish to humiliate me severely.

I do not answer your other questions, as, God willing, I shall see you soon. By order of our Father Vicar I shall not stay more than three or four days at Medina, as I am to call there again on my way to Salamanca. He says my visit to Valladolid must be a short one. Kindly tell these plans to Doña Maria and the Bishop. They have reason to be pleased at our Father's having been put in his present position, as he naturally wishes to please them. This is why he has overcome the many obstacles to my journey. Your Reverence also has gained your end. God forgive you! Pray that my visit may result in your being less bent on getting your own way.[2] This seems to me impossible, but God can do all things. May His Majesty make you as good as I beg of Him. Amen.

I have not given your message to the nuns yet. As for Casilda's affair, settle nothing until I see

[2] Mary Baptist was very fond of giving advice to St. Teresa. On one occasion, the Saint, turning to Father Gracian, said laughingly: 'Jesus! How much she knows! It makes me feel a fool. I blush at being so ignorant and good for nothing!'

you. When we know what her mother intends giving her, we can tell his Paternity. Since her attacks of tertian ague are not severe, we need not trouble about them. Remember me to her and the rest.

To-day is Sunday within the Octave of Corpus Christi. The bearer of this letter arrived at five o'clock in the morning and is being sent off a little before mid-day.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXXVI

Avila, June 24, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, SEVILLE

Praise of Father Nicolas Doria. The Saint bids her accept the office of prioress and discusses the convent affairs.

JESUS!

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my daughter. I do not know why my daughters at Seville are silent when I am constantly wishing to hear from them. I assure you that *I* am not silent regarding your interests. I must tell you that Father Nicolas, who is now Prior of Pastrana,[2] has paid me a visit, much to my relief, and I thank God for having given such a member and so good a man to the Order. His

[1] Fuente 246.

[2] Fray Doria had been nominated prior in place of Fray Diego de la Trinidad, who had gone to Rome.

Majesty seems to have chosen him to re-establish your convent, considering the labour and fatigue he has undergone for your sakes. Pray much for him, for it is a debt you owe.

As for you, my daughter, give up this ridiculous perfection of objecting to be re-elected as prioress. It is childishness and nothing else, after we have all been wishing and striving for your replacement. The matter is not your Reverence's private concern but that of the whole Order. It would contribute so much to God's service that I wish to see the affair settled, as well as on account of the honour of the community and of Father Gracian. Even though you had none of the qualities requisite for the office, nothing else would be suitable: how much more when 'for want of good men'[3] as they say.

If God grants us this favour, you are to be silent and obey without a word or you will make me very angry. You have said enough to show us that you do not desire the post, and in fact there is no need to tell any one who has borne it that the office is a heavy cross. God will aid you and the storm has passed for the present.

I am very anxious to know whether these two nuns[4] are conscious of their fault or if they oppose you in any way, and how they behave, as I feel burdened concerning their souls. Be kind enough to give me a detailed account of the matter. Will you send your letters by the Archbishop to Roque de Huerta; he will forward them wherever I may be.

[3] The Spanish saying: 'For want of good men, my husband was made Mayor.'

[4] Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and Margarita de la Concepcion.

Sister Isabel de San Pablo[5] will tell you all the news at the end of this note, as I have not time for more.

Remember me affectionately to my daughter Blanca. I am exceedingly pleased with her and very grateful to her father and mother for all their goodness to you: thank them for me. I assure you that I am astonished at the account of what has passed in your convent, and I wish you would tell me the whole truth clearly and exactly. Above all, let me know how the two sisters are going on for, as I said, I am very anxious about them. Remember me very kindly to all the nuns: let the deputy prioress consider this letter as addressed to her. I commend myself earnestly to my Gabriela's prayers. I cannot understand how Sister San Francisco got through all her difficulties.

I am summoned to see Father Nicolas and am to leave for Valladolid to-morrow. Our Father Vicar General has sent me an order to go there immediately, and from thence to Salamanca. There is little need for me at Valladolid, but Doña Maria and the Bishop asked for me. However, I am really needed at Salamanca where the nuns are in a very unhealthy house and have much to suffer at the hands of their landlord.[6] The life he leads and has led them besides the fresh quarrels he picks with them every day have tried them severely.

Will you all beg our Lord that a good house may soon be purchased cheaply for them.

May His Majesty have you in His care for my

[5] Niece of St. Teresa, who wrote the latter part of this letter.

[6] Pedro de la Vanda. See Letter of June 18.

sake, my daughter, and let me see you again before I die.

To-day is June 24, 1579.

I start to-morrow and am too busy to write to my daughters or to say more. Let me know whether they received a letter from me.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXXVII

Date uncertain, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH

. . . I feel great shame and confusion, my daughter, at learning what those señores said of us Carmelite nuns. We lie under a stringent obligation to be what they described, lest we should make them false witnesses. . .

[1] Fuente 247. A fragment of a letter written to Mary of St. Joseph, given by her in her *Ramilléte de mirra*. She says that St. Teresa, hearing that the General and the Calced fathers were bringing unjust charges against the Discalced nuns to the Holy Father and cardinals, obtained testimonials in their favour from the bishops and other persons acquainted with their convents. These documents were sent to Rome. The most favourable were from the faithful defender of their cause, Don Alvaro de Mendoza. Velasquez declared that the nuns of the Reform were mirrors of perfection for Spain. It is to these statements that the Saint refers.

CCLXXXVIII

Prefatory note.

St. Teresa set out with her attendant, Blessed Anne of St. Bartholomew, on June 25. Her travelling companion was a priest who disliked her extremely and took every opportunity of annoying her, but her generosity and meekness won his heart before the journey was over. She went several leagues out of her way when she left Avila to call at a priory where the community were strongly adverse to her. No one came to greet her when she arrived, but she went to the religious, and by her gracious manners made them her friends so that they accompanied her part of her way when she left. The Saint called at Medina but her stay must have been very short as she reached Valladolid on July 3. She remained there for a month.

Valladolid, July 7, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Journey to Valladolid. Sister Maria de San José and a novice. Paul's journey to Rome. An interview with Father Nicolas Doria. The Licentiate Godoy's daughter.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father.

I ARRIVED at Valladolid four days ago, in good health, thank God, and not at all fatigued, as the weather was very fresh.

I am astonished at the joy shown by the nuns and señores at seeing me, I cannot tell why. All

[1] Fuente 248.

here commend themselves to your Paternity's prayers. The prioress says she does not write to you as she is too fond of gossip to talk with a mute.[2] I found Sister Maria de San José[3] very well: she is contented, as the nuns are with her. It was a pleasure to see that and the flourishing condition of these convents, considering the poverty in which they were founded. May God be for ever praised!

A good novice with talents and a fortune of nearly twenty thousand ducats has taken the habit here, but we think that she will give comparatively little to the house on account of her strong affection for her sisters. However, she will bring a fairly good dowry, so that, with what the prioress already has in hand, the community will almost have enough for the settled income which they all desire.

As for Paul's journey to Rome, it is a dream which need not be discussed or even thought about, but I fear that, if he is made Provincial, he will be bound to attend the General Chapter. Take no notice of the father who so strongly urges you to go there without saying why, or how you should; but thank God for having so arranged matters that the journey is not necessary. We do not need a fresh trial now to remedy the old ones, nor do I wish your Paternity to harbour the idea for a moment.

Father Nicolas spent three or four days with me at Avila. It was a great consolation to find there some one with whom you could discuss the affairs of the Order and who could help you, for I feel satisfied with him and it has pained me deeply that

[2] The Nuncio had forbidden Father Gracian to write to the nuns.
[3] Father Gracian's sister.

you should be so unaided in the Order. He certainly seems to me shrewd, sensible, and devoted to God's service though he does not possess the charm and sweetness God has given to Paul, for few receive such gifts. But Father Nicolas certainly is a man of talents, very humble and penitential, sincere, and capable of gaining the good will of others. He will thoroughly understand Paul's worth and is firmly resolved to follow his lead in everything. It was a great comfort to me, for if Paul agrees with him and you are both of one mind in future, it will be most advantageous in many ways, and an immense relief to me.[4] For, whenever I think of what you have suffered from those who should have helped you, I feel it as one of my heaviest trials. So, my Father, do not let your Paternity hold aloof from him, for unless I am much mistaken, he will prove extremely useful in many ways. We discussed and planned numerous affairs. God grant the time may come when they can be carried out, and this sheep-fold of the Virgin, which has cost Paul so dear, may be set in perfect order.

Our Lord be praised that your Paternity is in good health. Do me the kindness of keeping away from Alcalá as much as possible while this heat lasts. I cannot say how long I shall remain here, as I have been put in charge of the business at Salamanca. I am content to be here, but I can say with truth that I am not discontented anywhere. Yet I shall do my best not to remain over this month, for I dread lest, by ill luck, some one should

[4] The antagonism between Fathers Doria and Gracian steadily developed until it resulted in the latter's expulsion from the Order.

purchase the house offered us at Salamanca, which is most suitable though dear. However, God will provide for us.

Lest I should trouble your Paternity, I have never liked to tell you how insufferable the nuns of Alba find the daughter of Godoy the lawyer.[5] I have done my best to give her every chance, but it is impossible to endure her. Being deficient in intellect, she cannot be reasoned with and must be very discontented, for she screams loudly. She declares it is because she feels sick: I do not believe it. I asked the Mother Prioress to write me an account of some of the many causes of complaint she has against the postulant, so that I could show her letter to the lawyer. She sent me the note I enclose. On second thoughts, I considered it best not to show it to him but merely to inform him that his daughter is unsuited to us. I am exceedingly sorry, as we owe much to him, but she could not be kept in any of our convents.

I shall soon be going to Alba and will investigate the matter, but I think that will be of little use, for, from their statements, she must be far from being in her right mind. As she stands in awe of her father, she would be best with him. I have not seen him yet: he wrote to me at Avila asking me to allow his daughter to remain at Alba until some other home was found for her. We shall agree to his request. I always dreaded taking her on account of the pain her dismissal would cost him. Everything possible has been done for her: God grant that he may recognize this.

[5] A lawyer of Valladolid who was a benefactor of the Discalced convent.

Remember me very kindly to Fray Bartolomé:[6] I was delighted with his letter: I hope he will not be tired of showing me such charity, though I am too tired to write to him on account of the number of ladies who have visited me. The Condésa de Osorno called yesterday. The Bishop of Palencia[7] is here: both you and all of us owe much to him. I ask for the prayers of the Father Rector.[8] May God have you in His care and make you persevere in the sanctity I ask for you.

To-day is July 7.

Your Paternity's true daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCLXXXIX

Valladolid, July 18, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Godoy the lawyer and his daughter. Project of a foundation of friars at Valladolid. A message for Eliseus.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father.

GODOY, the lawyer, has been to see me since I last wrote to you. He seems to me an excellent man. We fully discussed the subject of his daughter. Thank God, a community of Bernardines

[6] Father Gracian's companion and secretary.

[7] Don Alvaro de Mendoza.

[8] Fray Elias de San Martin, Rector of the Discalced college at Alcalá.

[1] Fuente 249. The autograph is venerated at the Cistercian College, Alcalá. (Fr. A.)

(who live at Valderas, I think), are willing to receive her, so we arranged that when I go to Alba I am to investigate the matter and if I still consider her unsuited to us he will take her to the other convent. I was delighted at the news, for I regretted her dismissal, yet from what has been told me, I think it best for her to leave at once, lest she should lose the opportunity that offers. Her father behaves like a Christian. For the last few days he has been suffering from tertian fever: though it is a mild form, it is painful. Will your Paternity pray for him.

You must know that the Abbot[2] here is a great friend of the Bishop of Palencia. I have had an interview with him and we are on good terms. There is already another provisor. If God gives us the funds, we can certainly get permission to found at San Alejo's.[3] The prioress is ill: she came to see me and keeps firmly to her purpose. Being in danger of death, she had named Godoy the lawyer as her executor and signed all the documents relating to the matter. May God direct the project, as He has the power to do, and as I heartily desire!

My dear Sister Maria de San José is well and is loved by the whole community: she is a little saint, as is Casilda. All the sisters, particularly the Mother Prioress, beg for your prayers. My health is fairly good; Valladolid suits me. I shall do my best to

[2] The Bishopric of Valladolid was not yet established; there was only a collegiate church dependant on the Bishopric of Palencia. The abbot was Don Alonso de Mendoza. His Procurator, instigated by the Calced, had impeded the foundation by the Discalced, who had gone to law on the matter.

[3] A hermitage in the charge of a devout woman whom St. Teresa called the prioress. The Discalced founded a priory there in 1581.

start soon as I am anxious about Salamanca, but my stay will be prolonged until next month.

I must tell you about a temptation concerning Eliseus[4] that I had yesterday which still besets me. It seems to me that he is careless sometimes about telling the whole truth regarding certain matters. Though I know that it is in things of little moment, yet I should like him to be very careful on the point. Will your Paternity, for charity's sake, insist upon the matter, for I do not think that absolute perfection can exist without such care.—See how I interfere in such matters as though I had no other work! Will your Paternity be careful to pray for me, as I stand in great need of it. And now, abide with Him, for I have written to other people and I am tired.

To-day is July 18.

Your Paternity's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

Remember me to the Father Rector and to Fray Bartolomé. I beg you for the love of God to let me know how your health is during this heat.

CCXC

Prefatory note.

On June 28, Fray Angel de Salazar had issued a patent stating that by order of the Nuncio he had examined the process drawn up against Mary of St. Joseph by Fray Diego de Cardenas, and having found that the charges were groundless, in accordance with the wish of the Seignory, he now replaced her in the office of prioress, commanding her to accept it at once under pain of excommunication.

[4] Father Gracian.

Valladolid, July 22, 1579[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, SEVILLE

Congratulations on her re-election as Prioress. Confessors to be chosen from the Discalced fathers. Enrique Freyle's daughters.

JESUS!

THE grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, *my daughter!* What good reason I have for calling you so, for though I felt great love for you, it has increased so much that I am astonished at it, and long to see you and embrace you tenderly. Praise God from Whom all good comes, and Who won you the victory in so fierce a struggle. I do not ascribe it to your virtue but to the constant prayer made for you in our convents of Castile. May His Majesty enable us to make Him a fitting return for His favours.

From the letters sent me by the Father Provincial from the nuns, and from yours delivered by Father Nicolas, I learnt that your Reverence had been reinstated in your office. I was extremely glad, for no other means could have restored peace to souls. You must be patient: since God has given you such a desire for suffering, be glad to welcome it in this way, for I realize that yours will be no light cross. Were we to choose the trials we wanted and set aside the rest, we should not be imitating our Bridegroom, Who, keenly as He felt the ordeal of His Passion, ended His prayer in the Garden by saying: *Fiat voluntas tua.* We must

[1] Fuente 250.

always do this will and let Him choose for us.

I have asked Father Nicolas to advise you as he thinks best; as he is very prudent and knows you personally, I submit my opinion to his. I only ask that, so far as possible, as regards your soul's direction, your Reverence and the nuns should avoid consulting any one but our Discalced fathers. Do not be concerned if they fail you at times, or if you do not receive Holy Communion so frequently, for it is more important that we should not suffer from our former difficulties. Should the community or any of the nuns wish for a change occasionally, do not oppose it.

I am so pressed for time that I did not intend to write to you. Remember me very affectionately to all the sisters and thank them on my behalf for the good judgement they have shown, and for trying to please me. May the Blessed Virgin repay them, bless them, and make saints of them.

I do not think that you can refuse to admit Enrique Freyle's[2] eldest daughter, as you owe much to him. In this case you must follow the advice of Father Nicolas, to whom I refer you. The youngest cannot possibly be received at present, both on account of her age and because it is not well to have three sisters of one family in any convent, much less in ours, in which the communities are limited. Put the question off by objecting that she is too young, but do not displease the parents.

[2] A rich Portuguese living at Seville. His wife had given generous alms to the nuns there. Three of their daughters became Carmelites. The first, Blanca de Jesu Maria, professed in 1578, went to Lisbon, was made prioress there and died in 1638. Her two sisters were Maria de San José and Isabel de Santa Febronia. (*Œuvres* iv, p. 117.)

It would be well for you to repay my brother when you are able, as I know he is in need of money, having had a great many expenses lately. You know what you owe him. Oh! How he has felt your trials! God give you such rest as will please Him. Write and give me all the details, especially about those two poor foolish little sisters,[3] about whom I am greatly concerned. Be kind to them, and do all you can to make them realize their fault.

God willing, I shall leave here on Saint Anne's day, and I shall stay a few days at Salamanca. You can send me letters by Roque de Huerta. All the sisters here commend themselves earnestly to the prayers of yourself and the community. You are deeply in their debt.

We owe thanks to God for the state of all these convents. Will you pray for Malagon, also for the business which takes me to Salamanca, and do not forget those who have helped us, especially in our recent troubles.

To-day is the feast of the Magdalen.

I am so busy that I do not know how I have managed to write this letter, which I have had to set aside several times. This has prevented my writing to Fray Gregorio as I intended. Will you do so instead, giving him very kind messages from me as I am exceedingly pleased with him because he has taken a large share in the battle, as he will in the spoils. Send me news about our kind father,

[3] Sisters Beatriz and Margarita.

the Prior of las Cuevas, so that I may know what to say to him about our affairs.

The servant of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCI

Valladolid, July 22, 1579[1]

TO DON TEUTONIO DE BRAGANZA, ARCHBISHOP OF EVORA

The Saint sends him a copy of 'The Way of Perfection' and the 'Life of St. Albert.' Prospect of war between Spain and Portugal.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit ever be with your Grace, Amen.

AS I sent a long letter to your Grace last week when forwarding to you the little book,[2] this is but a short note, written because I forgot to ask

[1] Fuente 251. The autograph belongs to the Discalced Carmelite convent, Murcia. (Fr. A.)

[2] The copy of the *Way of Perfection* now at Toledo. As Don Teutonio wished to have some alterations made in it, the Saint re-wrote it. He granted permission for its publication in 1580, but it was not brought out until 1583, a year after her death, thus fulfilling her prophecy to Father Julian that there would always be trouble and delay in publishing her books but that he would witness after her death what good would be done by her writings.

St. Albert was a Sicilian Carmelite of the thirteenth century. The Spanish translation of his work was made by Fray Diego de Yanguas. (See Introduction to *The Way of Perfection*, Stanbrook edition, and Don Teutonio's preface there given.) M. Morel-Fatio states that the *Arquivo bibliographico* of José Dos Santos V. I. mentions: *La Vida y milagros de el glorioso padre sant Alberto, de la sagrada religion de nuestra Senora del Carmen. Va esta obra dirigida a la muy religiosa senora madre nuestra Teresa de Jesus: fundadora de las descalsas Carmelitas: A cuya instancia se*

you to have the pamphlet, *The Life of St. Albert* which is enclosed in the book, printed together with it. This would be a great comfort to all us nuns, as we only have it in Latin. It has been translated, (for love of me), by a Dominican father, one of the best theologians of these parts and a great servant of God. As he had no idea it was to be printed, he has neither obtained nor asked for his Provincial's permission. However, that can be of little consequence, supposing that your Grace approves of it and orders that it should go to the press.

In my letter to your Grace, I stated that our affairs were prosperous and that I have been told to go to Salamanca, where I expect to remain for a few days: I shall write to you from thence. For the love of our Lord, do not omit to tell me about your health, if only to compensate for my loneliness when I no longer find you there. I also beg you to let me know whether there is any prospect of peace,[3] for as I wrote to you, I am deeply distressed at what I hear about our side. If on account of my sins, the negotiations should end in war, I fear that it would be most unfortunate for your country, and could not fail to be very hurtful even to ours.

escribe. . . Ano de 1582, so that the book was probably published before the Saint's death.

[3] Several persons claimed succession to the throne of Portugal on the death of Cardinal Henry. Among them was Don Teutonio's nephew, the Duke of Braganza, whose wife was Doña Catalina, Don Manuel's grand-daughter; another claimant was Antonio, Prince of Crato, illegitimate son of the Cardinal's brother; a third was Philip II of Spain whose first wife was Maria of Portugal, and who was grandson on his mother's side to Emanuel the Fortunate and nephew of

They say that it is the Duke of Braganza who causes the dissension: which, setting aside the many other reasons, grieves me exceedingly as he is a kinsman of yours. For love of our Lord, since you must have great influence over him, persuade him to come to an agreement. Accounts say that our king is doing all he can to bring this about, which is strongly in favour of his cause. Picture to yourself the great evils that may result, as I said, and let your Grace look to the honour of God, as I believe you will, regardless of all else.

May His Majesty direct the matter as we entreat of Him. I assure your Grace that I feel it so poignantly that I would rather die than witness it, if God allows things to come to the worst. May He deign to preserve you to us for many years for the good of His Church, granting you the sanctity I ask for you and grace to smooth away these difficulties, which would render Him great service. Every one here says that our king is in the right, and that he has neglected no means of making sure of it. May the Lord enlighten men to see the truth without so many lives being lost in battle! Now that Christians are so few, it would be deplorable that they should kill one another.

All the sisters here, your humble servants, who are known to you, are well, and appear to be making progress in perfection. They are zealous in praying

John III. The Pope supported Philip's right which was made good by the victory of the Spanish army under the Duke of Alba against the Prince of Crato. Portugal remained under Spanish rule for sixty years.

for your Grace, and I, wretch though I am, do so continually.

To-day is the feast of the Magdalen.

Written in the Carmel of the Conception at Valladolid.

Your Grace's unworthy servant and subject,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCII

Valladolid, July 25, 1579.[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

The Saint begs him to forward letters to Don Lorenzo and Father Gracian.

Jesus be with you!

I RECEIVED your letter and am much obliged for your kindness in writing to me. Those brought you by this messenger are for my brother. Should he not be at Madrid, I have asked him to apply to you for them. Will you be good enough to open the letter addressed to him, take out that enclosed for our Father Master Gracian, and after inquiring as to his whereabouts, tell this messenger to deliver the missive to him wherever he may be. He is possibly either at Toledo or at Alcalá: I believe he is at Alcalá. The letter concerns an important matter and is sent for no other reason. For love of God, forward it immediately, because, as I said, it is of great consequence, and Father Gracian cannot fail to be either at Toledo or at Alcalá. As I am only writing on this account, I

[1] Fuente 252.

will merely add that I pray God to be with you and to have you in His keeping.

Yesterday was the feast of the Magdalen.

Your unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCIII

Valladolid, July 25, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Good health of Father Gracian. Two angels at Valladolid.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity.

I HAVE been so busy ever since the messenger arrived who is taking you this letter, that I thought I should not have been able to send you these few lines, lest I should omit other business which was absolutely necessary.

Doña Juana tells me that you are ill with an eruption on the skin, and that the doctors wish to bleed you, but this friar[2] declares that you are very well and in good condition, which has relieved my anxiety. The heat must have affected you, as I feared it would. For charity's sake, stop in Alcalá as short a time as possible.

I am in fairly good health and am to leave here next Thursday for Salamanca. I am very happy at seeing the way in which our Lord is directing

[1] Fuente 253.

[2] The bearer of the letter.

matters: may He be for ever praised, and may He at length permit your Paternity to speak, if only as a relief to you in your many trials!

I have written to you twice since I have been here. Our Sister Maria de San José is in good health—she is an angel. Everything prospers with this convent, and the postulant who has entered will provide an annual income. She too is an angel, and is very happy. May our Lord be with your Paternity, for my head is extremely tired.

I assure you that I laugh at their giving you a penance which affords rest to you and leaves us to fight the end of the battle. May God grant us the victory, and give you good health, which is the important matter.

The Mother Prioress earnestly begs for your prayers: she says she does not intend to write to your Paternity until you have answered her: she is more resolute than I am.

To-day is the feast of St. James.

The servant and daughter of your Paternity,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCIV

Fragment of a letter to Father Gracian, probably written towards the end of July, 1579[1]

His need of sleep.

. . . I assure you that Joseph[2] is right in allowing you to sleep. I am very glad for ever since your

[1] Fuente, 254. The autograph belongs to the Seville collection. (Fr. A.)

[2] Our Lord.

Paternity left me I have begged and entreated Him to do so, as you seemed to need it. At first I thought He had done it for my sake: in fact I really believe He did, as I asked Him so earnestly. Perhaps sleep will enable you to get through your work. But, after all, you have very little rest, for as you go to Matins and rise early, I do not know how you can obtain enough. . .

CCXCV

Prefatory note.

On July 15, a document signed by the Nuncio and the four assessors was presented to Philip, begging him to obtain from Rome the erection of a separate province for the Discalced. Philip approved and the missive was forwarded to the Holy See by Sega on November 11. Fray Juan de Jesus Roca and his companion had reached Rome safely after a trying journey during which they had been alternately tempest-tossed, becalmed, and threatened by Turkish pirates. Here they disguised themselves as secular lawyers living in fear and trembling, for Tostado was in the city and large numbers of the Mitigated had assembled to elect Rubeo's successor.

Valladolid, July 26, 1579[1]

TO ROQUE DE HUERTA, MADRID

Good news from the Council at Madrid and from Rome. Arrival of the two friars in Italy.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit ever be with your Honour, Amen.

YOUR letter, with its good news about his Majesty's decision, consoled me greatly. May God preserve you and the assessors to us for many years! You must know that when I heard from you that Doña Maria de Montoya[2] was at Valladolid, she had already left for court. I was extremely sorry not to have known in time, being most anxious to meet her. Will you kindly let me know about the money matters, as I am concerned about them. May our Lord prosper the affair as you wish.

The bearer of the letter consoled me by telling about our travellers to Rome, as I felt very anxious on their account. Thank God for having saved them from such dangers and bringing them safe to port! Though Father Nicolas informs me of what is happening, I am glad to hear of it from you as well, for such good news never wearies, however often it is repeated. May our Lord permit

[1] Fuente 255. The original, which is much deteriorated, is in the Carmelite convent, Teruel.

[2] Probably a sister of Canon Montoya, who was in Rome helping the Discalced.

us to attain our wished for end soon, and may He bestow His holy grace upon your Honour!

To-day is July 26.

Your servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCVI

Valladolid, July 27, 1579[1]

TO DON LORENZO DE CEPEDA, AVILA

A chalice. Francisco de Cepeda. Good news from Seville and Rome.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Honour.

THIS relation of ours really tired me very much by his visit. Such is life! Since those who are separated from the world have to show so much regard for it, you will not be surprised to hear that, long as I have stayed in this house, I have not been able to talk to the sisters (privately, I mean), though several of them desire it extremely.

God willing, I start without fail next Thursday.[2] I will leave a note, however short, to be given you

[1] Fuente 256. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the original belonged to Doña Catalina Félix Pacheco y Ortega of the Villa de San Clemente.

[2] St. Teresa left Valladolid on July 30. Her companion, Blessed Anne of St. Bartholomew, was taken so ill with fever the night before that the Saint said she would choose some one else. The lay sister was so distressed that, after praying for her cure, the holy mother aroused her from sleep and bade her rise, when she was found to have completely recovered. They started next morning, went for three or four days to Medina, for a week to Alba, and thence to Salamanca where they remained for about ten weeks.

by the messenger who is accustomed to take you the money. They tell me that they have three thousand *reales* ready for you, much to my joy, also a very handsome chalice: indeed there is no need of a better one. It weighs twelve ducats and one *real*, I believe, and the workmanship costs forty *reales*, which comes to sixteen ducats minus three *reales*. It is of solid silver and I think will please you. The nuns showed me a chalice they have here of the metal you mentioned. Though it has only been used a few years and is gilt, it already shows what it is, as the foot has turned black inside, which is disgusting. I at once decided not to buy one of the sort; it seems to me that as you take your own meals off a silver service, you could not possibly get a cheaper metal for God. I did not expect to get so fine and cheap a chalice, but that huckster of a prioress[3] made arrangements with a friend to purchase it as though it were for this convent. She wishes to be very kindly remembered to you, but does not write as I am doing so. We ought to thank God for the state in which she keeps this house and for her talents.

My health is as good here as at Avila, and even better. It is wiser to take no notice of what you mention. It is better for melancholia (for it can be nothing else) to take this form than a worse one. I was glad to hear that Avila[4] is not dead: in fact, as he is an upright man, God has been merciful enough to let him fall ill in a place where he would be carefully looked after.

[3] Mother Mary Baptist.
[4] Probably Father Julian de Avila.

I am not surprised at your being annoyed, but I am surprised that you, who are so desirous of serving God, should take so light a cross for a heavy one. You will say that you dislike it because it prevents your serving God better. O brother, how little we understand ourselves! for all this consists in a little self-love. Do not be alarmed at Francisco's[5] vagaries: they are natural to a boy of his age. But even were this not the cause of them you must not expect every one to be as punctual in his duties as yourself. Let us thank God that He has no other faults.

I shall not remain at Medina for more than three or four days and less than a week at Alba. The journey from Medina to Alba will take two days, after which I shall start at once for Salamanca. By the enclosed letter you will learn how the prioress was reinstated at Seville, to my great joy. If you wish to write to her, send your note to me at Salamanca. I have told her to pay the money she owes you by degrees as you require it. I will see that she does this.

Fray Juan de Jesus has reached Rome. Our affairs are prospering here and will soon be settled. Canon Montoya[6] came here to bring the Cardinal's hat to the Archbishop of Toledo. Our affairs are in the Canon's hands and he will not fail us.

Will you pay a visit for me to Francisco de Salcedo and tell him my news. I am very glad to hear he is well enough to say Mass. God grant he

[5] Lorenzo's eldest son.

[6] The Licentiate Diego Lopez de Montoya was Canon of Avila and Assistant General of the Inquisition. The Archbishop of Toledo was Don Gaspar de Quiroga.

may recover. The sisters here are praying for him. God be with you!

You can speak with perfect frankness to Sister Maria de San Jeronimo if you like. I wish sometimes that Teresita were here, especially when we are in the garden. May God make saints of both of you. Remember me affectionately to Pedro de Ahumada.

Yesterday was the feast of St. Anne. I remembered that you are very devoted to her and either intended to build, or have already built a church dedicated to her, of which I am glad.

Your Honour's servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCVII

Salamanca, October 4, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Purchase of a house at Salamanca. The Saint objects to the Seville nuns' changing their residence.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity!

ANGELA has not been able to free herself entirely from her suspicions. It is not surprising, for she finds no comfort, nor will her affections allow her to find comfort elsewhere. As she says, she has many trials, is weak by nature, and is grieved at finding her attachment unreturned.[2]

[1] Fuente 257. The original letter is at Jaen.

[2] The Saint is speaking of herself and complaining of Father Graician's

Kindly tell that gentleman that, though he may be naturally forgetful, he ought not to be so in this case, for when love exists, it does not slumber so long.

However, we will change the subject. I am very sorry to hear how exhausted your head is. For the love of God, moderate your work, for unless you attend to the matter in time, you will find all remedies unavailing. Master and control yourself, and learn from other people's experience, since God's glory is concerned, and you know how necessary your health is to us all.

I thank His Majesty heartily that our affairs are so prosperous that, with His mercy, we may look upon arrangements as concluded, and so established as to show clearly that the work has been done by God. Setting aside the importance of the matters themselves, I am delighted on account of your Paternity as you will now see the fruit of your labours for which you have certainly paid dearly. But it will be a great joy to you to be in perfect peace and most beneficial for your successors.

O my Father, what a trouble this house is to me! Even though the matter was settled, the devil managed to keep us out of the house, which is the most suitable in all Salamanca, and the bargain was a very good one for the landlord. It is impossible to trust the sons of Adam! The owner himself offered us the place: he is an upright gentleman, looked upon in Salamanca as the most honourable

neglect in answering her letters. Angela is the Saint; the *caballero* is Father Gracian.

man in the city, whose word is as good as his bond. He had not only given his promise, but had signed the agreement in the presence of witnesses, having himself brought the lawyer with him, yet he has broken off the contract. Every one is astonished except certain gentlemen who persuaded him to this course for the sake of their own or their relatives' interests. They had more influence over him than the many friends who objected, especially one of his brothers who had shown us great kindness in the matter and who is much pained by the affair. He had placed the matter in our Lord's hands, so what has happened must be best for us. The trouble is that nothing else at all suitable can be found in Salamanca.[3]

If only these nuns had such a convent as the Seville sisters have, they would think they were in heaven. I am deeply grieved at the folly of the prioress, who has greatly lost credit with me. I fear that the devil has begun his work on that house and wants to destroy it completely.

I assure your Paternity that I was highly pleased by the letter from the young lady which you sent me by Doña Juana. If you are satisfied, I shall be glad to receive her as she wishes, for I had already heard much in her favour. She must be admitted at Seville when God wills, for I cannot endure the foxiness shown by the community, and that prioress is more astute than befits her state. Indeed, as I told her at Seville, I fear she has never been frank

[3] The nuns did not succeed in obtaining another house until after St. Teresa's death. Anxiety on their account was her chief trouble on her death-bed.

with me. I assure you that I had much to bear from her there. As she has written several times since saying that she repented, I thought that she had improved as she acknowledged her fault. To tell the poor nuns that the house is very unhealthy, is enough to cause them to believe that it makes them ill. I have written her some terrible letters, and I might just as well have struck an anvil. The enclosed letter from Father Nicolas will show the state of affairs. For love of God, if you think you have more influence over her, tell one of the friars to write to her. I think we ought to send some nuns there who possess the sound judgment required in such important business. Will your Paternity ask Father Nicolas to write at once to Father Prior requesting him to decline discussing the subject with her, for he must be much to blame. I feel certain that they are mistaken in attributing their ill-health to the house itself, and the one they think of taking would be far worse, being on the bank of the river, they tell me. Besides, it has not the fine views to be seen from their present convent, which are a great recreation for the nuns. In fact, it is the best house in Seville, and the envy of this community. May God bring the matter right.

[4]Fray Nicolas gave me a kind message from you, but I hope you will remember to pray for me which your many duties might make you forget. My health is fairly good. The Prioress and sisters earnestly beg your prayers. May God have you in

[4] Fuente was the first to publish the latter part of this letter beginning with this paragraph.

His care for me and let me see you soon. It is past three o'clock in the morning.

To-day is the feast of St. Francis.

Your unworthy servant and daughter,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCXCVIII

Toledo, November 19, 1579[1]

TO DOÑA ISABEL OSORIO, MADRID[2]

The Saint asks her to defer entering the Order until the foundation is made at Madrid.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with you.

I DID not expect to be able to write to you, and as the Mother Prioress has already done so, I will only say that Father Nicolas has set his mind upon your entering no other convent but the one which, God willing, we hope will soon be founded in Madrid. Should you have the patience, after waiting so long, to wait a little longer, it is most important that you should tell no one of your decision or of the projected foundation.

You must know that the nuns of Salamanca have already consented to receive you; I tell you this

[1] Fuente 259. Don Cayetano de Arriaga of Burgos had the original letter.

[2] Doña Isabel Osorio, a lady of Madrid, does not appear to have become a nun. Her sister, Inés de la Encarnacion, was professed at Toledo in 1580. She was noted for her perfect obedience and died in 1635, having worn the habit for 55 years. (*Œuvres*, iii, p. 437. See letter of April 8, 1580). St. Teresa had left Salamanca for Avila early in November and in spite of her illness had set out for Malagon. She took five days to reach Toledo.

because you have the certainty of entering there should there be any doubt about the other; but Father Nicolas thinks that, for many reasons, it would render greater service to God if you helped this new foundation, and that is the one object on which we are all bent. Father Nicolas will soon return from Seville and by that time you will have decided as to which you prefer. May His Majesty so guide you that you may be contented, and may He use your soul for His greater glory and honour! Amen.

I was delighted at witnessing the contentment of our sister, who is yours also. We shall be contented if you are as good, for she is an angel. She was very glad to be with me.

To-day is November 19.

Your unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

Letter from Father Gracian to the Duchess of Alba, at Uzeda.

Alcalá, December 1, 1579.[1]

Jesus, Mary!

Your Excellency,

As soon as I arrived at Alcalá, I placed in the hands of assessors the documents which proved that I had not exceeded my powers. These gentlemen did not think it necessary to show the papers to the Nuncio or to restore complete liberty either to Father

[1] By kind permission of P. Grégoire we give the following important letter first published in *Lettres de Sainte Thérèse*. Vol. III, 2nd. ed.

Antonio[2] or to myself until the principal evidence had been sent to Rome. However, thank God, this documentary evidence is now already on its way and is in thoroughly trustworthy hands. That is all I know. In consequence of the bad weather, Mother Teresa of Jesus was ill when she reached Toledo, as she had travelled through the mountain pass. She wrote, telling me that her indisposition was of little consequence, but I shall feel anxious until I hear of her recovery.

When I reached this priory, I found the Reverend Father Rector at death's door with a pain in his side. However, God willed that he should live and also wills that, besides the convalescents, we should have four religious ill in bed and should moreover suffer great poverty. May His Majesty be praised! Amen. I desired Pangue to ask you to be good enough to give us a little coal to warm the invalids in the wintry weather, and as I know that you are not annoyed when the poor beg for alms, I venture to remind you of it.

I am very glad to hear that His Grace the Duke[3] is better. We never forget here to entreat our Lord to grant you the grace and favour you both desire, which we all need and pray for daily.

Alcalá, December 1, 1579.

The chaplain and servant of your Excellencies,
Fray Jeronimo Gracian de la Madre de Dios.

[2] Fray Antonio had at first been confined in the priory of the Discalced Franciscans at Madrid with Fray Gabriel de la Asuncion. As the latter, being Prior of la Roda, was wanted there, the Nuncio sent him back, accompanied by Fray Antonio, at the end of 1578. (*Found.* ch. viii, 17.)

[3] The Duke of Alba being still in prison, the Duchess was staying at Uzeda in order to be near him.

CCXCIX

Malagon, December 3, 1579[1]

TO DOÑA ISABEL OSORIO, MADRID

The Saint asks her to enter the convent to be founded at Madrid which her dowry would help to stablish.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Honour, and make you as great a saint as I daily beg of Him.

FATHER Prior de la Roda[2] brought me two letters from you: one must still be at Toledo. I thank our Lord for your wish to forsake the world, for such disillusion can only come from heaven. I trust in His divine mercy that you will render Him great service, responding to such good desires by actions worthy of a true daughter of the Virgin, our Lady and Patroness. I certainly would not impede for a day so strong a vocation. I will state the motive of my letter frankly, since you are now our sister and my señora.

You must know that for several years many people have begged me to found a convent at Madrid, but I was so fatigued during my eight days' sojourn there on my way to Pastrana by the visits of the great ladies of the city, that I refused my consent.[3] But now, after all our troubles, I see

[1] Fuente. 260. The original belongs to the Capuchins of Toledo. St. Teresa had reached Malagon on Nov. 25.

[2] Fray Gabriel de la Asuncion.

[3] This was in May, 1569. The foundation was not made at Madrid until six years later, in 1595, after St. Teresa's death.

that it would be well for our other houses to have a convent there, and I have been persuaded to agree to it. The great drawback is that I am assured the Archbishop would refuse permission unless the convent were founded with a yearly income. Although there are several ladies there who have, for many years wished to enter, and who could well afford the money, they are not free to give it until they are in the convent. Father Nicolas and I thought that, as you could be of great help to us perhaps you would wait a few days. God willing, I believe it will not be a longer delay than you expected.

Will you pray about the matter? Should you prefer another plan, I give my cordial approval: let me know and you shall enter whenever you choose, but this would endanger the prospect of the foundation at Madrid, and I think it would be a great thing if you could be the means of forwarding so good a work. May our Lord dispose of it for His greater glory.

Father Prior arrived so late at night that I could speak little to him on the subject. I will discuss it to-morrow and let you know his opinion, but I am writing to you to-night as I shall be very much occupied about an affair of which he will give you an account.

I am fairly well, glory be to God, though I was tired when I arrived and have had more to fatigue me since. May it render service to His Majesty, and may He give you many years to be spent in serving this great God and Master of ours!

Kindly remember me to Father Valentine. I

pray for him every day, and beg him to repay me, though I should be richly repaid, wretch that I am, by a very short prayer of his.

To-day is December 3.

Your Honour's unworthy servant,

Teresa de Jesus.

Remember that what I have said to you is private, for I cannot recollect having spoken so freely to any one.

Fortunately, we have had a long interview about your affair to-day; the decision remains unchanged I enjoyed meeting his Reverence very much. He will give you an account of it. You will let me know what you have arranged with Father Prior, which I am sure will be for the best.

CCC

Prefatory note.

St. Teresa found the house at Malagon which was the gift of Luisa de la Cerda, in so unfinished a state that the builders said it would take six months to finish. However, she insisted upon its being ready by December 8, and herself worked harder than any one. Things were soon set right in the community by the new prioress, Jeronima del Espiritu Santo who took the place of Ana de la Madre de Dios. Another reason for the Saint's visit to Malagon was to examine the spirit of the Venerable Ana de San Augustin, a young nun, whose supernatural state of prayer, together with the visible persecution she suffered from the devil, made the nuns anxious to consult the holy Mother. Saint Teresa was perfectly satisfied with her spirit and was divinely guided to choose

her for the new foundation at Villanueva. While at Malagon, the Saint had an attack of paralysis, which confined her to her bed.

Malagon, after December 8, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

The nuns of Malagon move into another house. State of the community. Responsibility of the Saint and Father Gracian. The new prioress.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity!

I MUST tell you that as I had already reached Malagon when Paul's letter came, I did not stay longer at Toledo as he bade me. It has been for the best, because the nuns entered their new house on the feast of the Conception. I had spent a week here which was quite as tiring as my journey, for there was much to do and I wore myself out with my efforts to manage the move on so auspicious a day. Yet after all, my health is better than usual. I am very sorry for your trouble: I can do no more.

The change of houses was a very joyful ceremony, as we walked in procession with the Blessed Sacrament which was transferred to the new convent. The nuns were delighted: they seemed just like little lizards coming out into the sun in summer time. They certainly have suffered in their former dwelling, and though nothing here is finished except eleven cells, they could live in the house very

[1] Fuente 261. The original letter belongs to the Carmelite convent at Alcalá de Henares. The end is missing.

comfortably for several years even if no more were built.

O my Father! how urgently my visit was needed, not only on this account—though their move would probably have been deferred otherwise—but for the other matters. God could have remedied them, but, for the moment, I can see no other way in which the spell could have been broken. The nuns realize now how they have been mistaken. The more I learn of the government of the Vice Prioress,[2] the better I understand the rashness of entrusting any office to her.

The poor Licentiate,[3] seems a very religious man and I think is less to blame than the person who dragged them all with her into sedition and love of change. He is very willing to follow my advice about affairs here and shows a humility and sorrow for having given any occasion for what happened which edify me deeply. Paul and I are much at fault: tell him to take it to confession as I have done, for we gave too much licence in some ways and ought not to have put such trust, in fact any trust at all, in persons so young, however saintly they might be, for being inexperienced, they do great harm in spite of a good intention. We must know better how to act in future, my Father.

I trust in our Lord that all will remain settled and in good order. The prioress[4] we brought here

[2] Ana de la Madre de Dios. See letter of May 8, 1578.

[3] Don Gaspar de Villanueva.

[4] Jeronima del Espiritu Santo (Acevedo), born of a noble family of Zamora, was sister to Guiomar del Sacramento and Beatriz de Jesus. Hers was a strong character: clever, tactful, and kind. She was chosen to introduce the Discalced nuns into Italy by Nicolas Doria who sent

is full of the fear of God, prudent, and so skilful in governing that the sisters all love her dearly. She begs earnestly for your Paternity's prayers and is your very loyal daughter. I think we could have chosen no one else so suitable for that convent. God grant it may always be so. The other prioress[5] seems to have done her work extremely well.

The harm a prioress can do to a house is terrible, for though the sisters witness things that scandalize them (of which there have been many here) they think it would be against obedience to consider them wrong. I assure you, my Father, that the Visitor ought to be very vigilant lest the devil should evolve great evils from small ones.

May God have Fray German in heaven! He had good qualities, but lacked the light to understand perfection in a higher sense. From the way in which our Lord conducts matters, He seems resolved that certain things should not remain hidden. God grant I may not have been to blame for having insisted on taking Fray Felipe to the nuns as their confessor! And God grant, too, that he was not to blame in defending the sisters, for the Father Vicar, who did as I wished, must have suffered severely in consequence, as he told some one who visited him when he was ill that it was I who had made him take to his bed. But it seemed to me that nothing would suffice except to bring the sisters another confessor, and there was no one else but Fray Felipe:

her in 1590 to Genoa to make a foundation: from this convents were founded throughout the country. Four years later she returned to Spain, was made prioress at Madrid, and died at Arrenas in 1599. (*Œuvres* iii. 467.)

[5] Mother Brianda de San José.

yet I felt misgivings about the whole affair. If I have done wrong, write and tell me your opinion, for I have no satisfactory adviser here.

A few days ago I gave Fray Gabriel a letter for the Father Rector, at Alcalá, so that you might have news of me, as I did not dare to write to you directly, though I believe I might have done so safely. That father came here and not . . .[6]

CCCI

Prefatory note.

On Nov. 11, the Nuncio had transmitted the sentence of the assessors that the Discalced should be separated from the Calced and erected as a separate province with his good will and approval to the Secretary of State of His Holiness. On the fifteenth of the same month, a Chapter of the province of Castile was held at Moralejar, in which a share and voice were assigned to the Discalced priors and their *socii*, and provision was made for their houses. When the Chapter was over, (on the twentieth of the month,) Angelo de Salazar forwarded a minute account of it to Juan Baptista Caffardo, the Vicar General. (*Acta Capit. General.* Vol. 1, p. 562). Fray Angelo secretly opposed the separation of provinces. St. Teresa never trusted him entirely, as although he was learned and conscientious, he halted between the two parties and never frankly took her part. At the Chapter, Fray Gabriel de la Asuncion, Prior of la Roda, had been named definitor. The despatches from the king, the Nuncio, and the four assessors had already been sent to Rome.

[6] The end of the letter is missing.

Malagon, December 15, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Foundations at Villanueva and Arenas. The despatches sent to Rome. Velasco's daughter as novice.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity.

FATHER Prior of la Roda came here; I cannot tell why, though he wished to discuss the foundation of a convent at Villanueva de la Jara. I have thoroughly investigated the matter and find that it would be the most foolish thing in the world to think of such a project. Fray Antonio de Jesus has decided that it is to be done. I have appealed strongly to his conscience and Fray Gabriel's[2] about it, but cannot say what they will decide.

Fray Antonio wishes to settle about Doña Isabel Osorio, whose sister he sent to Toledo,[3] but Father Nicolas and I have already made arrangements with her. Fray Gabriel showed in a better light than ever, evincing a simplicity on certain points that astonished me. He has been made definitor as a great compliment to the Discalced, the Father Vicar tells me: at least, he hinted at this motive. I really cannot see how it can harm the Calced,

[1] Fuente 262. The autograph belongs to the Discalced Carmelite convent, Saragossa. It begins here. The first part, which is missing is supplied from the copy at the National library, Madrid.

[2] Fray Gabriel de la Asuncion.

[3] Inés de la Encarnacion.

nor how Fray Gabriel can be blamed if he has been elected, that the thing should be kept so secret. Don Luis Manrique informed Fray Gabriel that the despatches have been forwarded to Rome. I asked him whether they were to be held back for the general Chapter, but he said that by the King's request they were not to be delayed. The father was only here for one day; he thought I was at Toledo, and, not finding me there, came here.

I am amused at Paul's pride: what a time for it! He need not fear that it pains me or that it hurts himself: he would be foolish, and that he is not. Has he forgotten the well with aqueducts that refilled it as it was emptied?[4] I remember our pleasant journey together from Toledo to Avila,[5] which did not tire me in the least. Happiness is a great thing and Paul's letter seems to bring me rest amidst my work: will your Paternity thank him for it.

I do not think I can stay here for the whole of January, though the place suits me well enough as I am not so beset with letters and business matters. The Father Vicar is so anxious about making the foundation at Arenas and meeting me there, that I expect he will tell me to settle things quickly here. In fact, the greater part of my work is done. You could not believe how much I owe to him: his kindness to me is extreme. I assure you that I shall still feel very grateful to him, even after his time of office has expired.

[4] This seems an allusion to the basin filled from aqueducts in the *Interior Castle*, Mans. IV. ch. II.

[5] The return from Toledo to Avila in 1577 with Father Gracian and Fray Antonio.

Read this letter from the good Velasco.[6] If his sister is not very much in earnest about becoming a nun, yet wishes to enter the convent, be cautious about concluding the arrangement, because I should be exceedingly sorry to hurt Velasco's feelings as I like him very much and am most happy at his filling his present post. I believe that we owe all our advantages to him, to the Father Master Fray Pedro Hernandez, and to Don Luis.[7] May God bless your Paternity, my Father, and preserve you for many years to come. Amen.

To-day is December 12. I wish you a happy Christmas[8] and growth in sanctity.

Your Paternity's loyal daughter and subject,
Teresa de Jesus.

[6] Juan Lopez de Velasco, a native of Vinuesa, court chronicler of Philip II and secretary to the treasury. By the king's order, he assisted at the Chapter of the separation of provinces held at Alcalá in 1581.

[7] As already stated, Pedro Hernandez and Luis Manrique were two of the assessors.

[8] *Pascuas de Dios:* feast of God Himself.

CCCII

Malagon, December 18, 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Affairs at Malagon. Improvement in the condition of the Order.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity.

I SENT your Paternity a long letter but a few days ago *via* Toledo, so this will be but a short note. Besides, I was only told late this evening that the messenger, Antonio Ruiz' son-in-law, was to start to-morrow before daybreak. I wish he had brought me some lines from your Paternity though he cheered me by news of your good health and of the fondness of the people of Alcalá for your sermons. He spoke of the one about St. Eugenius. Blessed be God from Whom all good comes! He bestows a great favour on those whom He destines to sanctify souls.

I forgot to mention that Ana de Jesus[2] is very well and that the other nuns seem peaceful and contented. I do not allow a certain person either to speak to them or to hear their confessions. Otherwise, I am very polite to him, as is proper, and I often talk to him. He preached here to-day. He certainly is a good man and would not wilfully

[1] Fuente 263. The autograph is venerated in the convent at San Sebastian.

[2] A nun at Malagon who was out of her mind (letter to Gaspar de Villanueva, July 1577)

injure any one, but I am convinced that it is best for our Discalced nuns not to talk to those outside the house though they may be saints. God will instruct the sisters and experience has taught me that, with the exception of hearing sermons, frequent intercourse, even with Paul, does them more harm than good and to a certain extent diminishes the respect due to such persons. O my Father, what troubles I have gone through on this account!

Oh, how well I remember what I suffered on Christmas Eve, a year ago, when I read your letter to me![3] Thank God, times have improved. Never, however long I live, shall I forget the anguish I endured!

My health is no worse than usual; indeed I have felt better lately. The new house is very comfortable; it will be excellent when finished, and even now affords us ample room.

The Prioress and nuns earnestly commend themselves to your Paternity's prayers, and I beg for the Father Rector's.[4] As it is very late at night, I will only say that I should spend a happy Christmas-tide if I could hear the sermons you will preach. God grant your Paternity a happy Christmas both this year and for many more.

To-day is the feast of Our Lady of the O,[5] and I am the daughter and subject of your Paternity,

Teresa de Jesus.

[3] See Prefatory note to Letter to Roque de Huerta, end of Dec. 1578.

[4] Father Elias de San Martin, Rector of the college at Alcalá.

[5] The feast of the Expectation of our Lady, kept in Spain on December 19 with great solemnity, so called because the antiphon of the *Magnificat* begins with the words: *O Virgo virginum.*

CCCIII

Fragment of a letter probably written at Malagon at the end of 1579.[1]

ADDRESSEE UNKNOWN.

The Saint's delight at being unknown and unnoticed.

. . . I assure you that this place possesses advantages for which I have longed for many a year. Though I naturally feel lonely at being without my usual comforter, my soul is at rest and there is no more memory of Teresa of Jesus than if she did not exist. This would prevent my wishing to leave the spot unless I were told to, for I used to be annoyed sometimes at hearing such foolish remarks as that I was a saint—if so it must be a half and half one![2] They laugh when I tell them they should make another saint, as it costs no more than giving any one the title. . . .

[1] Fuente 264. Fragment of a letter published by Ribera, Bk. iv, ch. xv, and Yepes Bk. iii. ch vii, in their lives of St. Teresa.

[2] '*Ha de ser sin pies ni cabeza*'— 'It must be one with neither feet nor head.

CCCIV

Malagon, December 21, 1579[1]

TO FATHER DORIA, SEVILLE

Affairs of the convents of Malagon, Seville, and Veas. The foundation at Madrid. The Prior of Pastrana.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence!

SERRANO[2] came to-day, the feast of Saint Thomas. Your letter was very welcome as I wanted to know about your journey. Thank God for such goodness to us! May He prosper your return, though you will not enjoy it so much, for pleasure lightens toil. I thought you would have received my two letters, or at least the one I wrote almost directly after you left, on St. Catharine's day. Both were addressed to the care of Señor Francisco Doria.[3]

God willed that we should enter the new house on the feast of the Conception, though it cost me very hard work for there was much to do to get it ready, so that I was extremely tired during the eight days I stayed there before the nuns arrived. However, I hold my labour well spent, for though much is wanting, they find it very comfortable.

[1] Fuente, 265. At one time this letter was considered of doubtful authenticity, but the autograph in St. Teresa's handwriting belongs to the Carmelite nuns at Ubeda.

[2] A benefactor of the Seville Carmelites.

[3] A brother of Fray Doria. As canon of Toledo, he testified for St. Teresa's canonisation.

God has arranged the rest better than I deserve.

I am astounded at the havoc the devil has wrought through misgovernment, and at the fear, or rather the spell, under which he held the nuns. They are certainly all good souls, desirous of perfection, and most of them, indeed, nearly all, were greatly distressed at what was wrong but did not know how to remedy it. They are now thoroughly undeceived, and I feel certain that no one wishes for any change, even for Brianda's sister,[4] who is delighted at not coming here.

I assure your Reverence, my Father, that we must examine carefully as to whom we entrust such charges, for the nuns are so submissive that their chief trouble was a scruple at considering that their superior's action was wrong—as it was. They are delighted with their new prioress,[5] in which they are right. I believe that all the sisters are glad, except two or three who regret the loss of their former confessor. I told them at once that no one had leave to confess to him, of which most of the rest were glad. I managed to keep the matter private, but spoke very plainly to him. I feel sure that he is sincerely religious and has had no ill-will in the matter. As he lives at a distance and has other work, the change was made unnoticed. I invite him to preach to us, and I see him from time to time. All is now straightforward, glory be to God!

My only trouble is that the community are deeply in debt. All the money has been squandered

[4] Maria del Espiritu Santo.

[5] Jeronima del Espiritu Santo.

on account of the long period of mismanagement. The sisters knew it must be the case, but the superior told them very little: having been professed so recently, she probably knew no better. Such obstinacy in following one's own opinion does much harm.

Will your Reverence advise the prioress[6] who is about to be reinstated in her office to study carefully what are her obligations towards the Order, to fulfil them, and to keep the Constitutions, and then she cannot go wrong. Otherwise, God makes the best of friends become our accusers. Superiors must not suppose that they can make and unmake rules in their houses like married people. Kindly show her this letter. I felt annoyed at times with her and the other nuns I took to Seville from here, because they told me nothing. However, there was little to relate at first compared with what occurred later on.

If any nun at Seville should wish to confess to some other priest than the usual confessor appointed by your Reverence, let her be given the permission if he is one of the fathers from los Remedios[7] chosen by yourself. The nuns here have had much to suffer on this point, their souls having been bound down in a way that was hard to bear. They tell me here that the Seville sisters have written advising them to insist on having Brianda as prioress: that this course had been successful at Seville, and would be here. Will your Reverence give the prioress a good penance, for she ought to have known that

[6] Mary of St. Joseph, at Seville.
[7] Priory of the Discalced at Seville.

I am not such a bad Christian as to have taken so serious a decision without grave reason, nor should I have paid so high a price for the house had I considered it worthless. I forgive them for the opinion they must hold of me: may God forgive them too! If His Majesty had not willed that I should see it would be bad for them, I should have tried to bring back the former Prioress to Malagon, as I restored the Prioress at Seville. I assure your Reverence that if Mother Brianda returned, it would completely destroy the peace of the house, not to speak of other drawbacks. In such a weighty matter, those at a distance should not condemn one who would forfeit her own peace for the comfort and good of a single soul.

I heard some days ago that the fathers at Pastrana were ill:[8] they ought to be well again by this time. Your Reverence should not trouble about it, nor allow it to prevent your doing what is requisite at Seville. The matter that remains to be seen to after Kingtide will require great discretion, and if God should bring the reply from Rome, it would not be fitting that you should be unable to get here in good time.

Fray Gabriel, Prior of la Roda, came to see me before the feast of the Conception. He gave me to understand that he came to arrange about Doña Isabel Osorio's project. As Doña Luisa[9] told me that the Archbishop[10] would not license the foundation at Madrid unless the house had an annuity,

[8] Father Doria was prior of Pastrana.
[9] Doña Luisa de la Cerda.
[10] Of Toledo.

I am delaying the entry of Doña Isabel until I see whether she could help us in the case. I do not know how it could be managed, even though she gave us all her fortune, for as she could not do so until she entered, we should have to find some one who would stand security for the sum meanwhile. We will discuss the matter when you come here.

I was amused at Father Gabriel's confiding to me as a secret that the despatch had been sent to Rome. He stated that it had already gone, that he had learnt of it from Don Luis[11] and that he feels sure that as the petition comes from the king himself, it will be answered promptly without waiting for the General Chapter. God grant it may! I pretended that it was news to me. He declared that he was very glad, as well he might be! I will tell you the rest when we meet.

The Prioress of Veas sent me some letters for Casademonte, asking him to what address she is to forward the hundred ducats which she has in hand, so we need trouble no more about that affair.

I am delighted at your tidings of the Archbishop,[12] but you have acted very wrongly in omitting to give him kind messages from me. Please do so at once. You can assure him that I pray for him specially every day when I receive Holy Communion. May His Majesty have your Reverence in His keeping and bring you here in good health! Never fear that I shall let you leave us soon. Mother Prioress asks to be remembered to you,

[11] Don Luis Manrique, one of the four assessors.

[12] Don Cristobal de Rojas, Archbishop of Seville.

and the nuns are looking forward to your visit.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

Father Felipe makes an excellent confessor. Give Fray Gregorio kind messages from me and his sister. She is extremely good and cannot contain her happiness. Consider whether it would not be well for the prioress here to be novice-mistress: there have been so many changes that it would be an advantage for the sisters' affections to be concentrated on the prioress. One of the nuns could help her to teach them. As regards spiritual matters, such as prayer and temptations, recommend her not to exact more than the nuns are inclined to say, according to what you made them sign: this is important. I am very glad that Father Prior of las Cuevas is satisfied: truth is a great thing. Remember me kindly to him.

CCCV

Malagon, towards the end of the year 1579[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN,

Four fragments of letters relating to the convents.

. . . I assure your Paternity, (and for love of God never forget it, unless you wish to see our convents ruined) that as the price of everything is steadily rising, a community requires an income of about three hundred thousand *maravédis* to keep it from poverty. If, with the sum to be given it, people

[1] Fuente 266. These fragments seem part of the same letter, which appears to have been written in 1579. They were printed in Vol. vi. First edition.

believe that the house has an income of its own, no doubt the nuns will die of hunger. . .

. . . I wish to state that, by my will, houses founded in poverty should not have an income, for I know, and have learnt by experience, that in all such cases, if the nuns are faithful to God, they will always possess the greatest liberty of spirit. But if they are unfaithful, let them die out, for there are enough relaxed convents already. . .

. . . God forgive those who have opposed the making of new foundations, which was the remedy for all the evils. Until our convents are solidly established, there cannot fail to be many drawbacks, but His Majesty will put all things right. Meanwhile, your Paternity must be very cautious about admitting postulants unless there is urgent need of them and they would be of great help to the community. The welfare of our houses consists entirely in their not having too many religious to support. Unless we are very prudent on this point, we shall find ourselves in inextricable difficulties. . .

. . . It would be far better not to make foundations than to receive people suffering from melancholia[2] who ruin the house they enter. . . .

[2] St. Teresa had a horror of melancholy and often used to exclaim: '*Dios me libre de Santos encapotados!*'—'God deliver me from sour-faced saints!'

CCCVI

Malagon, towards the end of 1579[1]

TO AN UNKNOWN PERSON

Concerning the Reform.

... Your Honour need not have paid so much attention to my words, for I know little about lawsuits and wish that all may be at peace. But I believe that if this suit is permitted, it will provoke further animosity, and it is enough that the Count de Tendilla should be of the same opinion....

CCCVII

Date uncertain 1579[1]

TO AN UNKNOWN PERSON

Enclosing some letters for other people.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with you and reward you for the charity you have shown me to-day.

I HOPED to have seen you—not to complain, for there is no cause for complaint, but for my own consolation. Be sure not to forget me in your prayers, though the poverty of those I offer for you in return lays me under still greater obligations to you.

I beg you to deliver the enclosed letters with the

[1] Fuente 268. Published among the fragments of Vol. VI. First ed.

[1] Translated by the kind permission of P. Grégoire from Vol. III. of *Lettres de Ste. Thérèse*, p. 565. The autograph belongs to the Discalced nuns of Chiaia, Naples.

greatest caution to Father Larez:[2] some of them concern a most important affair. May the Lord be with you.

Will you ask our Father Provincial to send those I forward to him for Medina by a most trustworthy messenger; or there would be a risk of much trouble for us and hindrance to the service of God, as they concern the matter of which I spoke to him the other day. Otherwise, let them be returned to me, that I may send them. But if they are despatched, let them be directed to Father Ordonez so that they may be delivered immediately.

Your servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCCVIII

1579?[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Asking leave for the admission of a daughter of Antonio Gaitan into the convent of Alba.

. . . . Antonio Gaitan has been here. He came to ask me to receive his little daughter[2] into the convent of Alba: she must be about the same age as my Isabelita. The nuns tell me she is a dear little creature. Her father will pay for her board and lodging, and, later on, will leave her all his

[2] The name is not clearly written: it might be Bañez.

[1] Fuente 270. Published among the fragments of Vol. vi, first ed.

[2] She entered the convent and was professed at Alba in 1585 under the name of Mariana de Jesus. The year after St. Teresa's death, the Discalced resolved no longer to admit girls who were not old enough to be novices.

property excepting what is entailed. They say the sum will amount to six or seven hundred ducats, or even more. Nothing could repay him for what he has done for that convent, or indeed, for his services to the whole Order, so I beg your Paternity to be kind enough to send the permission at once. I assure you that these little angels edify and amuse us, and I consider that it would be beneficial rather than hurtful to have one, (not more), in each convent. . . .

CCCIX

Malagon, before the middle of January, 1580[1]

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, SEVILLE

Past trials at the convents of Seville and Malagon. Father Soto and Father Doria. New foundations.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my daughter!

IN my letter to my Father, Fray Nicolas, I spoke at length on certain points which I will not mention here, as you are to read it. Your own was so kind and humble that it deserves a long answer. As you wish me to write to the good Father Rodrigo Alvarez,[2] I will do so, but my head is not equal to much more. Serrano says he will deliver these letters to a trustworthy messenger. God grant

[1] Fuente 273. The original letter is in the Valladolid collection.
[2] Rector of the Jesuit college of Seville.

he may! Though I enjoyed seeing him, I was sorry that he returned here. You need not have reminded me of his services to us in our trouble: I am too grateful to forget them. I will manage to persuade him to go back to Seville, for it is a great thing to have somebody one can trust there.

I am not so ill in Malagon as elsewhere. I was much grieved at what Sister Gabriel told me about your health. Had your heart been of stone, the many trials through which you have passed would have injured it. I hope I did not contribute to them. Your Reverence must forgive me, because I am so anxious that any one I love dearly should never do amiss that I am unbearable. The same thing happened with Mother Brianda, to whom I wrote terrible letters, with but little result.[3] I really think that, in one way, the devil managed to do more harm at Malagon than at Seville. It lasted longer and gave graver scandal outside the house, and it is doubtful whether matters will go on as well in future as yours. I believe not, though things have been rectified and peace restored within the convent. God set the affair right: may He be praised for it, though the nuns were little to blame! I am most annoyed with Sister Beatriz de Jesus,[4] for she has never spoken to me on the matter, even now when she is aware that all the nuns tell me about it and that I know all. She seems to possess little virtue or discretion. She must think she is performing an act of friendship to the sisters, to whom she

[3] Neither Mother Brianda nor Mary of St. Joseph preserved the 'terrible letters' addressed to them.

[4] The nun who had been president at Malagon.

is deeply attached, but true friendship would not hide faults that could be cured without great difficulty. For the love of God, let your Reverence be most careful never to do what would cause scandal if it were known. Let us get rid of those 'good intentions' which cost us so dear. As for that Father of the Society's having dined in your parlour, tell it to nobody, even our Discalced fathers, for the devil, being what he is, would stir up commotion among them.

You must not fancy that it cost me little to bring the Rector to better terms with us, as all the fathers of the Society at Avila are now. I had great difficulty about it and even wrote to Rome, from whence, I believe, the matter was rectified. I was very grateful to that saint, Father Alvarez and to Father Soto.[5] Remember me kindly to the latter and tell him that I think he proves his friendship rather by actions than by words, for he has never written to me or even sent me a message.

I cannot think how your Reverence can allege that Father Nicolas has disparaged you to me, for you have no warmer partizan in the world. He told me the truth, so that I should understand what harm was being done in the house and not be misled. O my daughter! how needless it is to make so many excuses as to what regards me! I can truly say that it matters nothing to me whether the nuns care for me or not as long as I know that they fulfil their obligations. You mistook my motive. It seems to me that, when I show so much

[5] An excellent priest of Seville who succeeded Father Garci Alvarez as confessor to the Seville nuns.

solicitude and love for the sisters' affairs, they are undutiful if they do not trust to me but let me weary myself in vain. My feelings were so deeply hurt that I should have liked to leave the matter alone, for it seemed to me, as was the fact, that I could do no good. But my affection is so strong that when I found my words had any effect, I could not resist speaking again. However, let us say no more about the matter.

Serrano tells me that you have received another postulant. If, as he thinks, you are twenty in community, your number is complete and no one can authorize you to take more. The Father Vicar himself has no power against the decree of the Apostolic Commissioners.[6] For the love of God be careful on this point, for you would be astonished at the harm that comes from having a large community in our houses, even though they have an income and the means of living. I do not know why you pay such heavy interest every year when you could settle the debt. I was very glad to hear of the sum sent you from the Indies: thank God for it!

As regards the choice of the subprioress, as your Reverence has not health to come to choir regularly, you need some one who can take the Divine Office. Though Sister Gabriela seems young for the post, that matters little: she has been professed for many years and has the virtues that are required. If she is not very suited for the parlour, San Francisco could accompany her there.

[6] Fathers Pedro Hernandez and Francisco de Vargas, Dominicans, nominated as Visitors in 1570 by St. Pius V.

At least Gabriela is obedient, and would do nothing against your wishes. Besides, she has good health, which San Jeronimo has not, and it is important that the subprioress should not miss choir. As a matter of conscience, the office could best be laid on Gabriela. As she led the choir in the time of that miserable deputy-prioress,[7] the sisters know she is competent and will be the more ready to vote for her. Ability is of more consequence than age in a Subprioress.

I have written to the Prior of Pastrana about the novice mistress: I quite agree with what you say. I should not like the community to be large, for, as I said, it is a drawback for every one and is always the sole reason why religious houses become relaxed.

As you have the means with which to assist the Order I should be very glad if you would pay your debt to my brother with the money that comes from Toledo. He is in real need, is always borrowing in order to pay the yearly sum of five hundred ducats for the property he bought, and has lately sold something which would fetch a thousand ducats in Seville. He has mentioned your debt several times, and I think that he has the right to reclaim his money. Perhaps, if you cannot repay all at once, you might send him part of the sum. You will see what can be done in the matter.

It is a great thing that the holy Prior of las Cuevas should supply you with bread. With such

[7] *Negra vicaria*—wicked vice-prioress. This appears to have been Beatriz de la Madre de Dios, who after having expelled Mary of St. Joseph from her post by slandering her, was made prioress in her stead.

an alms, the nuns of Malagon could overcome their difficulties. I do not know what will become of them: all the religious have been received without a dowry.

The Archbishop[8] is very anxious to realize the project about Portugal. I intend to put off going there. If possible I will write to him now. Will you see that the letter is forwarded by a trustworthy bearer.

For the sake of her own soul, I should be glad to know that Beatriz[9] had repented and withdrawn her statement to Garci-Alvarez, but I very much fear that she does not understand her fault and that God alone can convince her of it. May He make your Reverence as holy as I ask of Him, for bad as you are, I wish I had others like you, as if a foundation were to be made, I could find no one suitable for prioress, though there ought to be some one. No one has had any experience and what occurred here alarmed me very much. The devil entraps us by good intentions into doing his work, so we must always be cautious and hold fast to God, trusting little to our own wits. Otherwise, however clever we may be, God will leave us to ourselves and we shall make mistakes when we fancied we were most sagacious.

Now that you understand the matter, you can learn experience from what has happened in this house, for I assure you the devil was certainly trying to play some trick, and I was astonished at your taking the part of the nuns in your letter.

[8] Don Teutonio de Braganza, Archbishop of Evora.

[9] Beatriz de la Madre de Dios, of Seville.

What were you thinking about? And San Francisco too! Good heavens! What foolish things were said in that letter for the sake of getting your own way! God give us light, for without that we have neither strength nor mind for anything but evil! I am glad your Reverence is completely undeceived, as it will help you in many ways. Mistakes secure success by giving us experience. God watch over you. I did not think I could have written so long a letter.

The servant of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus.

The Prioress and nuns beg earnestly for your prayers.

CCCX

Malagon, January, 1580.[1]

TO THE PRIORESS AND NUNS AT SEVILLE

Congratulations to the newly professed and the re-elected Prioress. Messages to Beatriz and Margarita.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Charities, my sisters and daughters!

Your notes gave me great pleasure: I should have liked to write a long letter to each nun in return, but time failed me for I am overwhelmed with work, so you must excuse me and take the will for the deed. I should very much like to make the acquaintance of the newly entered and pro-

[1] Fuente 271. The original letter, which belonged to the Valladolid collection, was given to the newly founded convent at Santiago in 1748.

fessed[2] and I am extremely glad they have made their espousals. May His Majesty make them such as I wish and ask of Him, that they may enjoy His Presence in the eternity which has no end.

Tell Sister Jeronima, who signs herself "dung-hill", that I trust God this humility does not consist in words alone. Say to Sister Gabriela that I received the "St. Paul" which is very good: being tiny like herself, it is to my taste. May God make her great in His sight! He really seems to love you better than us, as He sends you such severe trials, unless you lose the merit of them through your own fault. May He be praised for all things. How well He has directed the election! It is a great comfort to me.

Experience has taught us here that God seems to give more help and love for the house and nuns to the first prioress in a new foundation than to her successors, so that she benefits the sisters' souls more. In my opinion, unless there is any notable defect in the prioress who starts a house, she should not be changed, as there are more objections to it than the nuns can understand. May God give you light to do His will in all things! Amen.

I ask of Sister Beatriz de la Madre de Dios and of Sister Margarita what I have already asked of the rest: to speak no more of the past except to

[2] The nuns professed at Seville in 1579 were Maria de Jesus (Ruiz), Inés de San Eliseo (de Morales), and Maria de San Pablo. The first and last named helped to make the foundations at Granada and San Lucar. Sister Inés took part in that made at Lisbon. Her dislike for being put in any important office was so great that when she heard that she was to be elected as prioress, she asked our Lord to take her from this world beforehand. Her prayer was granted. (*Œuvres*, iv, 318, 321.)

Our Lord and their confessor. If they have been mistaken and given their information with a want of the truth and charity that God requires of us, let them be careful in future to be open and truthful. They should make what satisfaction is due, otherwise they will not be at peace and the devil will never cease tempting them. If they content our Lord, there is no need to think any more of the matter, for the devil was so furious, and strove so fiercely to prevent the good beginnings at your convent from developing, that the only wonder is he did not do more harm in every way.

God often allows the soul to fall to make it humble. If with sincerity and self-knowledge it returns to the right path, it makes greater progress in our Lord's service, as we see in many of the saints. So, my daughters, as you are all daughters of the Virgin, and sisters, try to love one another very much and take care that no one suffers. I speak to all of you.

I have been careful to pray specially for those who think I am displeased with them. My greatest sorrow has been (as it would be in future if they disobeyed) that they have not done what I now ask of them for the love of God. My dear Sister Juana de la Cruz[3] has been often in my thoughts; I believe that she must have continually gained fresh merits. As she chose the title of 'the Cross' it has been a blessed lot for her. Let her pray to our Lord for me and not suppose that all the rest are doing penance for her sins—or for mine which

[3] Juana de la Cruz, a lay sister, mother of Beatriz who gave so much trouble.

are much greater. I ask all your Charities to remember me in your prayers: you owe it to me far more than these nuns do. May our Lord make you as holy as I desire. Amen.

Written in the year 1580.

Your Charities' servant,

Teresa de Jesus, Carmelite.

CCCXI

Malagon, January 13, 1580[1]

TO FATHER DORIA, SEVILLE

Affairs of the Seville convent. Project of a foundation at Villanueva de la Jara. Concerning the nomination of the Provincial.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence.

THREE or four days ago, I received a letter from your Reverence dated December 30. Serrano had already brought me the others to which I wrote a very long answer, as I did to the Mother Prioress. I also wrote to Father Rodrigo Alvarez. They were all put into Serrano's hands with strict injunctions to be careful of them and I have learnt since that they were undoubtedly delivered to the courier. Besides that, I have written twice to you since I reached Malagon and sent the letters to Señor Doria,[2] Toledo, to be forwarded to your Reverence. I am disgusted at their all having

[1] Fuente 272. The autograph belongs to the Carmelite convent, Consuegra.

[2] Brother of Father Nicolas and canon of Toledo.

been lost. God grant it may not be the fate of this which I am sending by Velasco.[3]

You refer me for all news to the Mother Prioress of Seville, who tells me nothing. As she is well, I think you will be able to settle all the rest satisfactorily, seconded as you are by such a superintendent. What wonders are worked by the love of God! It is that which makes him anxious to help these poor nuns. I beg him to pray much for me. Why do you not mention our friend Lucrecia?[4] Remember me kindly to her.

Lest I should forget it, I will tell you now that the Prioress of Veas wrote to Casademonte saying that she has the hundred ducats and asking where they should be sent. He answered, to Madrid. I mentioned the matter to your Reverence before; we need feel no more anxiety on the subject.

This is such an out of the way place that you must not reckon on my sending you news from here more often than if I were at Seville,—though even there I could communicate more easily with you. Few messengers go even to Toledo and I find that letters are lost in transit. I say this because you ask me to tell you when to come, and what is happening. I warned Velasco that he must not depend on me while I am at Malagon.

If your Reverence stays long at Seville, you may find I have left when you arrive, for I believe a foundation will be made at Villanueva, near Roda, and possibly I may accompany the sisters, for if

[3] Velasco, chronicler to Philip II and afterwards secretary of the royal Exchequer, was high in his favour and a staunch friend of St. Teresa.

[4] Lucrecia had been Father Doria's servant when he was a secular priest.

ever my presence was needed at a foundation, it will be there.

Fray Antonio de Jesus and the prior are making such a stir, and people are so importunate about the matter, that I can do no less. Our Lord must wish for it. The question is still uncertain, but if the foundation takes place, I shall start before Lent. I should be sorry to leave without talking to your Reverence, for I thought I should have had that relief at Malagon. My health is good and all is well in this house, so that I cannot thank God enough that I came here. The spiritual state is most satisfactory; there is great peace and content, and the temporal affairs which were ruined are improving. God be praised for it all!

What you tell me about the Most Reverend (Father-General) so pleased me that I wish it were settled, as I wrote to Velasco and the 'cave-dweller.[5] Only I have been wondering whether there would be any doubt regarding the validity of the substitute, as opinions varied at the Nuncio's death as to whether his commission to Father Gracian still held good. We are tired of lawsuits, so that, in any case, if God grants us the favour of a successful issue, you ought to take the necessary steps at once, during the life-time of our principal protector.[6] As the reasons given by your Reverence all seem very good, though beyond my understanding, there is no cause for delay.

If your Reverence waited for us at Seville, you

[5] There was question of nominating Father Gracian as Visitor to the future province. He was nicknamed the 'cave-dweller' as he was very fond of living in a grotto at Henares.

[6] Probably Philip II.

might miss us if we could not carry out our present plans. I will state the matter to Velasco, and submit to his opinion. If it would not tire you, it would be better that you should come to Malagon, even though you should have to return to Seville, as the journey here cannot be made quickly. Though it is true that where Velasco is, your presence does not seem indispensable, as I tell him, yet much depends upon your consulting together. Circumstances might arrive in which your absence would do great harm and would annoy Velasco, loyal friend as he is to us. Though Father Gracian is at liberty, it would not be wise for him to interfere in this affair as if we gain what we are striving for, people would say he had his private ends in view. Though that would not matter very much, it would be best to render it impossible.

I have been thinking that if the 'cave-dweller' is not made Provincial and were given the other office,[7] it would be well that Fray Antonio should fill the post of Provincial which he has had before, for if he had a superior, and especially if he had a prudent companion, he would do his duty well as he did when entrusted with the work by the Visitor of Salamanca. That would deliver him from his temptation and destroy party spirit (if it exists), for that is a far greater evil than any fault he might commit as Provincial. I say this now as I do not know when I shall be able to write to your Reverence again, considering the fate of these letters. The present messenger is strongly recommended.

[7] Probably that of Vicar General or Visitor of the Reform.

I should like to know the cause of this new agitation. God grant the people of this district may cease intriguing. May He protect your Reverence. I am tired as I have been writing for a long while. My health is better than usual here, but my head is always troublesome. Remember me very kindly to the Prior of Almodovar[8] if he is at Seville, and say I am doing a great deal for his friends and have taken a dowerless nun for each of them. God grant he may be grateful. One was brought me by Juan Vazquez, the other by his friend from Cantalapiedra. The latter is the postulant who left Veas and who, they say, is a great friend of his Reverence.

The prioress asks your prayers. We all, especially myself, pray to our Lord for you: I never forget it.

I cannot help suspecting that you would be glad to have an excuse for remaining at Seville: if it is groundless, God forgive me! May His Majesty make you very holy and preserve you to us for many years. Amen.

To-day is January 13.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,
Teresa de Jesus.

[8] Fray Ambrosio de San Pedro.

CCCXII

Malagon, January 14, 1580[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN

Penances performed by the nuns to free Father Gracian. The future elections and the Provincial. The 'Interior Castle' and 'The Life.' Macario, Fray Gabriel, and the Duquesa.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity!

I RECEIVED a letter a short time ago from Doña Juana. She is hoping every day that your enforced silence will come to an end. God grant the affairs at Toledo and Medina may be settled when this letter reaches you. Fray Felipe[2] is just what we want; for he has gone from one extreme to the other, and never speaks to the nuns out of confession: he is an excellent man. Oh, how the Medina sisters rejoiced when they heard your silence was over! You owe a special debt to them. A lay sister at Malagon took a hundred disciplines on your behalf: all this ought to help you in doing great good to souls.

I received the enclosed letter yesterday from Father Nicolas. I was very glad that they could manage what he mentions, for I felt anxious sometimes about Salamanca, though I could think

[1] Fuente 274. The original belonged to the Carboneras, Madrid, but is no longer there.

[2] The confessor St. Teresa took to Malagon; see Letter of the middle of December 1579.

of no better plan. You now have your work clearly set before you: evidently you should labour more for your own Order than for those outside it. I spoke to Father Nicolas at Toledo about some of the drawbacks to the former course without mentioning them all, which did great good. I think that the Most Reverend (*Reverendissimo*) will do all he can in our favour. My only misgiving is lest, when the Nuncio died, the authority he gave you may have become invalid. It would be most dangerous to leave so important a question to chance. Tell me what you think about it, for I can perceive no other difficulty. Indeed, it seems a favour from heaven, as Father Nicolas says in his letter, that we should be allowed to arrange our business among ourselves. May God, Who has the power, bring it right.

In case all should not go as we wish, I do not know whether it would be well for Father Nicolas to remain at Seville, for our affairs meet with little support there. True, Velasco would do much: still, he would lose nothing by being seconded. However, your Paternity must say nothing on the subject, lest, should our project be realized, you should be accused of having worked to obtain it. Caution is most necessary to afford people no such opportunities especially while we are governed by Mathusalem[3] who is putting great obstacles in the way of Paul's being placed in any office. But he could do no less.

Another difficulty occurs to me, which is whether,

[3] The Nuncio Sega.

if this charge[4] were laid upon you, you could also be Provincial. But that seems of little moment, for the first office includes all the rest. Besides, there would be the great advantage, if Macario[5] were Provincial, of his dying in peace, as that is the cause of his melancholia, and it would put an end to this party spirit. After all, it would be only reasonable, as he has already borne the dignity, and since he would have a superior over him, he could do no harm. Be kind enough to let me know your opinion. So far the question only relates to the future, but were it for to-day, you need feel no scruple about it.

The enclosed letter from Fray Gabriel will show what he fancies about me, though I have always written to him when I could find a messenger. You see how angry he is. He declares that he saw by my letters which you showed him, that I did not write to him when I could have done so. I should be very glad if your Paternity's affair had been settled by the time this letter reaches you,[6] so that you can reply at length.

I forgot to tell you about the Duke.[7] On New Year's Eve, the Duchess sent one of her servants with the enclosed letter and a private one for myself, in which she declared that your Paternity had stated that I preferred the Duke to herself. I did not ac-

[4] That of Visitor to the Order which St. Teresa was too prudent to put into words.

[5] Fray Antonio. Compare what is said in this letter with the preceding one. He had been elected provincial at the Chapter of Almodovar in 1578. His jealousy of Father Gracian grew as time went on.

[6] That the Nuncio should allow him to leave his reclusion and permit him to write letters to the Discalced.

[7] The Duke and Duchess of Alba.

quiesce, but merely remarked that you told me so much about his good qualities and of how spiritual he was, that you must have fancied it. I added that I loved God alone for His own sake, that I saw no reason why I should not love her, and that I owed more affection to her than to the Duke: but I put it in better words. I think the book she got Father Medina to copy must have been my large one.[8] Will your Paternity tell me all you know about it. Do not forget, for I should be very glad that the work should not be lost, and the only other copy is in the hands of the angels. In my opinion, my last book surpasses the other: at any rate, I have had more experience since I composed the first. I have written twice to the Duke and said much more than your Paternity asked of me. God protect you, for if anything would cheer me, it would be to see Paul. If God wills that I should be deprived of that relief, well and good: let Him send me cross upon cross.

Beatriz begs you to pray much for her.

The unworthy and true daughter of your Paternity,

Teresa de Jesus.

[8] Father Medina had copied the Saint's *Life* of herself from the original then in the hands of the Inquisition. Father Gracian, acting as confessor to the Duke in his prison at Ubeda, took the MS. with him to read to the prisoner who was so cheered by the *Life* and what he was told about St. Teresa that he forgot all his troubles. 'How I wish I could go to see her' he exclaimed. He was only set at liberty to take the command of Philip's army in Portugal, and did not meet her. The Duke took with him to the war a picture of our Lord from St. Teresa which he boasted afterwards had enabled him to practise mental prayer while conquering Portugal. The second book mentioned in the letter is *The Interior Castle*, the Saint's favourite among her writings.

CCCXIII

Malagon, January 15, 1580[1]

TO FATHER GRACIAN, ALCALA

Fathers Antonio and Francisco. Projects for the foundations at Villanueva, Arenas, and Madrid.

JESUS!

May the Holy Spirit be with your Paternity, my Father!

AS I have such a reliable messenger as this lay-brother, I do not like to omit writing these few lines, though I sent you a long letter yesterday by Juan Velasquez of Almodovar.

Fray Antonio de la Madre de Dios[2] has been at Malagon and preached us three sermons which I liked very much. He seems to me an excellent man: it is a great consolation to number such persons among our friars. I was grieved at learning of the death of the good Fray Francisco:[3] may God have him in heaven.

O my Father! how anxious I feel about the plan of making a foundation at Villanueva, for I can find neither prioress nor nuns for it that satisfy me. That saint of a Sister Isabel[4] here seems to possess some of the qualities required, as I told your Pater-

[1] Fuente 275. The autograph belongs to the mercenarias of Toro.

[2] Fray Antonio de la Madre de Dios was formerly a Jeronymite. He joined the Discalced under the influence of the Venerable Anne of Jesus. He was drowned with three other friars in the Gulf of Guinea on his way to the missions.

[3] Fray Francisco, a model of virtue and mortification, died a saintly death at Baeza.

[4] Sister Isabel had renounced the Mitigation on Oct. 27, 1579.

nity, but as she has always been trained among the liberties practised in that house,[5] I feel great misgivings about her, besides which, her health is very bad. Let me know your opinion about her. Beatriz[6] does not appear to me to be all I wish, though she has governed this convent peacefully. Now that the cares of this house are over, the other worries me.

I think that the Flemish nun would suit Arenas.[7] She has been perfectly satisfied since her daughters' affairs were settled, and possesses sterling qualities. If it is the will of God that we should found a convent at Madrid, I rely upon Inés de Jesus[8] as prioress. Pray about these matters, for it is very important to start well. For charity's sake let me know your decision. May our Lord protect you and make you as great a saint as I desire that you should be.

To-day is January 15.

Your Paternity's unworthy daughter and subject,

Teresa de Jesus.

[5] The convent of the Incarnation.

[6] Beatriz had been temporary prioress of the convent after Mother Brianda left.

[7] Ana de San Pedro.

[8] Daughter of Francisco de Cepeda and cousin of St. Teresa.

CCCXIV

Malagon, beginning of February 1580[1]

TO THE VENERABLE MARIA DE JESUS,[2] VEAS

Affectionate messages. The foundation at Villanueva.

MAY the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Charity, my daughter. Had you my weak head and business affairs, you would have an excuse for not having written for so long. But as you have not these pleas, I do not know how I can help complaining of you and of my dear Sister Catalina de Jesus, for you certainly owe it to me. If only I were able, I should write to you so often that you could not go to sleep.[3] But though you are so forgetful of me it is a comfort to know that you are well and happy and, from what they say, are

[1] Fuente 278. The autograph of this letter belonged to the Carmelite nuns of Valladolid who kept it exposed for veneration on the altar of the Saint in their church. It was given by the bishop of that city to the Carmelite convent, Darlington.

[2] Nearly the whole of chapter xxi of *The Foundations* is taken up with the history of Sister Catalina de Jesus and her sister Maria. They were foundresses of the convent of Veas. Catalina had been miraculously converted by reading the title on her crucifix and her vocation to Carmel was supernaturally revealed. She had to wait several years until her parents died before she became a nun; she was cured of cancer and a complication of diseases by miracle before leaving the world. For Maria de Jesus, see letters to her and the nuns of Toledo, August 1577.

[3] In an article in the Bulletin hispanique, 1917, pp. 265-267, M. Morel-Fatio states that the sentence should end here, instead of three words later as in Fuente, so connecting *en olvidarme tanto* with *consuelme con saber*, etc. As St. Teresa did not punctuate her writings, each letter is formed of a single sentence and it remains with the editors to determine how the phrases should be divided.

serving our Lord faithfully. God grant it is true, as I pray heartily it may be! I should like to be able to stay at your convent and find comfort there after the toils and trials of many kinds through which I have passed during the last few years. Self-indulgence prompts the wish, for on reflection I know well that I deserve cross upon cross and that God shows me great grace in giving me nothing else.

The Mother Prioress will have already told you that I have been ordered to make a foundation[4] in a place where I have wished to have a convent for many years.[5] I approve of it because people here have persevered so long in asking for it, that my superior thinks well of the project. I am going in the full assurance that the foundation will render service to our Lord. Will your Charity pray that it may and that I may always do His will.

Remember me very kindly to Sisters Catalina de Jesus, Isabel de Jesus, and Leonora del Salvador.[6] I wish that time and my head would permit me to write longer. But your Charity must not answer me with a short letter or be surprised if I do not

[4] That of Villanueva de la Jara. See *Found.* XXVIII, 7-34.

[5] M. Morel-Fatio says that instead of, as Fuente gives it *adonde ha muchos anos me defiendo de ella*, the phrase should read: *adonde a anos queria*; *defiendo de ella*, . . .

[6] Isabel de Jesus (Vozmediana y Salida), a widow of Veas who was clothed by St. Teresa six months after the foundation of the convent. Leonor Bautista de Jesus (Perez de Castilejo y Bermudez), professed at Veas in 1578, was prioress at Veas and Valentia. It was said that all the nuns she trained became saints. At her death she said that she heard the angels singing: 'Lætamini in Domino et exultate justi et gloriamini omnes recti corde.' One of the letters written by St. John of the Cross is addressed to her. (*Œuvres* IV, 300, 306.)

reply at once. Be sure that I am glad to hear and that I do not forget to pray to our Lord for you. May His Majesty make you as holy as I wish you to be!

Your Charity's unworthy servant,
Teresa de Jesus.

CCCXV

Malagon, February 1, 1580.

TO MOTHER MARY OF ST. JOSEPH, PRIORESS OF SEVILLE

Regarding the health and welfare of the Prioress and her election. The foundation at Villanueva. State of the convent of Malagon. Money owing to Don Lorenzo.

JESUS!

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with your Reverence, my daughter!

TO-DAY, the eve of our Lady of the Transfixion,[2] I received letters from your Reverence and my sisters at Seville. I was greatly pleased, though I cannot tell why, for in spite of all the vexation you cause me I cannot help loving you dearly. I soon forget all your faults, and now that your community has improved through its recent trials, I am fonder of it than ever. God be praised for having brought all your difficulties to so happy an end!

No doubt your health is better as your daughters do not lament over it as usual. It is foolish of you

[1] Fuente 276. The antograph is in the Valladolid collection.
[2] That is, of the Purification.

to wear a woollen tunic in the summer. If you wish to please me, you will take it off directly you receive this letter, which may be a more severe mortification for you. As all the nuns know how necessary it is, they will not be scandalized. Our Lord will be pleased with you as you do it by my wish. You cannot act otherwise, for I know what the heat is at Seville. It is better to do this and follow the community duties than to have such a number of invalids. This applies to all those whom you see require it.

I thanked our Lord that the election was so unanimous:[3] they say that the Holy Ghost intervenes in such cases. Rejoice in your trial, and do not let the devil disturb you by making you dislike your office. It is amusing of you to say that you would be glad to know I prayed for you, when not only have I done so for the last year, but I have made all the other communities do the same. Perhaps that is why matters have passed off so satisfactorily. May His Majesty continue to prosper them!

I foresaw that, as Fray Nicolas was to undertake the matter, it would be well done. But, shortly before your Reverence asked for him at Seville and he was told to go there, you risked spoiling all our plans, for you only thought of your own house and he was occupied in matters concerning the whole Order, which depended on him. God made you as you are! I should like him to be both at Seville and Malagon at the same time until so important a matter is concluded. I heartily wish he could

[3] All the votes at the election of the prioress had been in favour of Mary of St. Joseph.

have come here in time to meet me. Now it cannot be done, for you must know that five days ago the Father Vicar sent me a patent to go to Villanueva de la Jara, near la Roda, to found a convent there. For the last four years we have been importuned to do so by the municipal Council of the place, and other persons, especially the Inquisitor of Cuenca, formerly fiscal at Seville. I saw many obstacles in the way, but Fray Antonio de Jesus and the prior of la Roda visited the spot and took such active measures as to remove all difficulties. The town is twenty-eight leagues from Malagon.

I should have considered it a great piece of good fortune if I could have managed to pass through Seville on my way so as to have met your Reverence and scolded you to my heart's content—or rather, talked with you, for doubtless your trials must have made something of you by now.

God willing, I must return here before Easter, as my leave of absence only extends to St. Joseph's day. Tell Father Prior, in case he might be able to come to see me. I sent him a letter from here *via* Madrid. I should have written much more often to both of you from Malagon, but did not dare, as I expected the letters would get lost. I was very glad that those I sent you did not meet with such a fate, as in one of them I gave you my opinion about the choice of a subprioress, although your Reverence knows best what would suit your community. Yet I assure you that it is very unfortunate when both prioress and subprioress have bad health, or when the latter cannot recite and direct the choir well: indeed, it is against the

Constitutions. What could prevent your sending which ever nun you chose to the parlour if there were any business to settle? If you were very ill, I feel sure that Sister Gabriela would not swerve from your orders and if you give her authority and credit, she is virtuous enough to set no bad example, so that I am glad to see you are inclined to decide upon her. May God ordain matters as is best.

It is amusing of you to warn me not to believe everything that San Jeronimo says, after my having cautioned you against it over and over again. Even in a letter I sent to Father Garci Alvarez, which your Reverence tore up, I gave him strong reasons against trusting her. However, she is a good soul, though she is not clear-headed, and is not to be compared to Beatriz, for she errs through want of understanding, not through malice. However, I may be mistaken. There will be no risk if you let her confess to no one but the friars of the Order, except perhaps occasionally to Father Rodrigo Alvarez, but tell him my opinion of her first. Always remember me kindly to him.

I was very glad to learn from the sisters' letters how fond they are of you, as I think is right. They amused me, and I was delighted with your Reverence's letter, which counteracted my disgust at the one written by San Francisco—a disgust springing from her apparent want of humility and obedience. You should try to correct her: there is still something she brought from Paterna about her.[4] Tell her not to spin out her letters and

[4] She had been sent to reform the community of Paterna.

exaggerate so much, for though she thinks her rhodomontades are not falsehoods, such a style is far from perfect; she should write frankly, otherwise she might mislead a superior in a thousand ways. Tell her this in answer to her letter, and that when she amends her style I shall be satisfied with her. But let us try to please this great God, for I am of little account.

O my daughter! I wish time and the state of my head would allow me to write at length about all that happened in your house, for you would gain by my experience and would even ask God's pardon for not having informed me of it, for I knew you were present when certain things took place such as I dare wager have not been done in the most relaxed convents in all Spain. A good intention would excuse some but would not suffice for the rest. Take warning by it, and keep to the Constitutions, since you are so fond of them, unless you wish to gain a little with men and to lose with God. There is not one of the nuns who does not realize and acknowledge what danger they were in, except Beatriz de Jesus, who is so fond of the others that though she understands the evil, she never told me about it, nor does she speak of it now, by which she has lost greatly in my estimation.

The former confessor has not heard confessions here since I came, nor do I think he will. The public interests require this, for the whole affair was terrible, though he certainly would be good under other influence. God forgive her who caused his dismissal from this house, for both he and the nuns would have made progress. He recognizes

that there was good reason for the measures taken, and came to see me. I am very friendly with him, as is right, and his frankness pleases me. Much harm comes from youth and inexperience. O my Mother! how malicious the world is; for it puts a good construction on nothing! Unless we learn from the past and are cautious, all will go from bad to worse. For the love of God, look well to everything as I shall, and be as shrewd as an old woman, since you have had such a lesson.

I wonder that you sent me no verses (*villanicos*) for, as usual, a number must have been written to celebrate the election. I like your nuns to enjoy themselves in moderation; when I found fault with it before it was under peculiar circumstances. My Gabriela is to blame for this omission. Remember me affectionately to her; I should very much like to write to her.

I am taking Sant Angel as subprioress[5] and shall choose a prioress from Toledo: I have not decided who it will be. You must all pray fervently that this foundation may render great service to God. I commend it to the prayers of Beatriz, who is deeply to be pitied. Margarita's message pleases me, if she is what she declares. Things will settle down in time if the two nuns find that you love them.

I am overcome at the thought of all we owe to the good Prior of las Cuevas: will you give him a very warm greeting from me. Tell all the nuns to pray for me and do so yourself, for I am weary and very old.

It is no great thing that the Prior should be

[5] See letter of June 18, 1576.

fond of me, for he owes me a heavy debt of affection in return for mine. God preserve him to us, for we possess a great treasure in him and the sisters are strictly bound to intercede for him. May His Majesty be with you and have you in His keeping for my sake. Amen.

I am not sending you the answer given by the Mother Prioress and Beatriz, because I am tired.

You must know that my brother has written to me twice since I have been here. He asked me to acquaint you with his need, which I think surpasses your own, and to say that you would render him a signal favour by repaying even half of what you owe him. His letters cannot be found just at this moment: I had entrusted them to one of the nuns to send to your Reverence, to prove that I should not press you to pay, unless my brother were pressing me to do so. He has sold a large part of the yearly interest you give him, and any sum you could remit would be a great help to him. I would have let him have some money from Malagon, but there is none to spare.

The unworthy servant of your Reverence,

Teresa de Jesus.

The length of this letter will show how I enjoy writing to you. It is equal to four of those I send to the prioresses of Castile, and those are rarely written by my own hand. I was very glad to hear that the Prior had set your business affairs in such good order, so that the sum owing to my brother will not be lost, even though we may be in want ourselves.

All the nuns here are extremely contented as

well they may be, having such a prioress. I assure you that she is one of the best we have, and her health is good, which is a great thing. The convent is like paradise. As the funds have been lost, I have been busy trying to get some work by which the sisters may earn their living. God grant that may suffice. At any rate nothing will be squandered, for the prioress is a splendid manager.

Remember me kindly to Fray Gregorio. How completely he seems to have forgotten me! My kind regards to Father Soto[6] also: his friendship has done you a good turn . . . so good a one in his place . . . Your community ought to pray for him.[7] He has excellent qualities: I wish he would return to your neighbourhood for I believe he was good and faithful . . .

[6] The new chaplain.

[7] These disconnected sentences are taken from the copy in the National Library, Madrid. They probably refer to Father Garci-Alvarez.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME OF
THE LETTERS OF SAINT TERESA TRANSLATED
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APPENDIX

The following is the Spanish of Letter ccxlix.

Fragmentos de la tira larga de Sta. Teresa.

. . . Tenido los descalços . . . . los deve. Todas las de esta casa se le encomiendan mucho. Yo no me espanto de la santidad que dicen tiene V.P., sino de lo que no lo esta, segun las oraçiones se an echo por el de gente buena, que creo lo son estas sus yjas. Mas quales nos a traydo nuestro Señor con mudanças de perlados, y á mi con temores! Yo le digo que . . . todo cansa, y lo otro fuera descansar. Bendito sea Dios, que asi es servido se pase la vida. La que V. P. se da me (es) a mi de arta pena. Dios se le perdone, que tales dias me a echo pasar con sus calenturas y escupir sangra, y esta dicen que a mucho. Yo no se como no me lo a dicho. Yo le digo, mi Padre, que me tiene tan tentada, que no sé como acierto a decirle buena palabra, porque aun que no . . .

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